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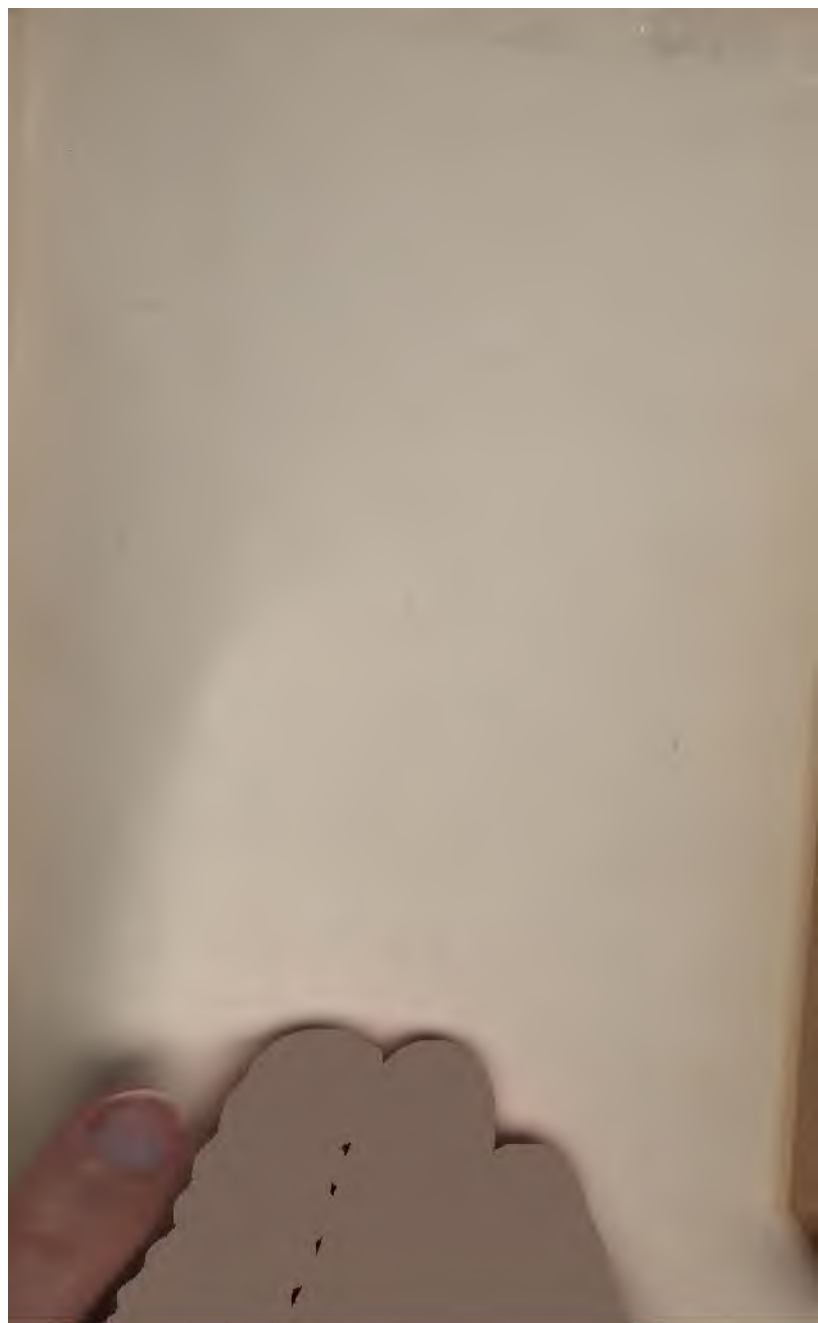
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SIDNEY'S APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

J. CHURTON COLLINS

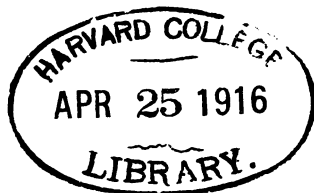
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE
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PREFACE

THIS noble little treatise well deserves more attention than it appears to have received from those who regulate the courses of study in our systems of secondary and advanced education ; for to all who regard poetry as it too generally is regarded in modern times it must come as a revelation. Most lucidly and most persuasively it explains and vindicates the claims of poetry to the place it held among the Ancients, to the place it held when Aristophanes could say that boys have the schoolmaster to teach them, but when they grow up the poets are their teachers. So completely has poetry come to be dissociated from its true functions that such a conception of its educational importance sounds now like paradox ; it is not paradox but truism, as Sidney here demonstrates.

A better introduction to the study of poetry could scarcely be conceived, for not only does it put poetry in its proper place as an instrument of education, but it deals with it generally as only a poet himself could deal with it, with illumining insight, with most inspiring enthusiasm. As it is here that the treatise is most precious and furthering to students, it is here, and here only, that stress should be laid in dealing with it as a subject of teaching and examination ; with its innumerable references to obscure and now forgotten writers and writings it is not desirable that students, and young students especially, should be required to load their memories. What they are expected to retain

of such minutiae should be reduced to a minimum. A judicious teacher will have no difficulty in distinguishing between what ought to be remembered and what may profitably be forgotten. With this object and for this reason the Notes dealing with these minor literary and biographical particulars have been made as succinct as possible, and the same applies to the philological notes.

To Professor Gregory Smith I am obliged for permission to use his text of the *Apologie* in his *Elizabethan Critical Essays* as the basis of the text here printed; but I have not followed him in certain re-arrangements of paragraphs, and I have modified the punctuation. The only important deviation from the original texts has been the substitution of correct for incorrect spelling in the case of proper names. I have also to thank Mr. Michael Macmillan for the assistance he has given me in writing the notes.

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INTRODUCTION

I

MEMOIR OF SIDNEY

MEMORABLE and brilliant as were Sidney's services to his country as a public servant, as a man of letters, and as an example and pattern of conduct, still his achievements and virtues are insufficient to explain the almost unparalleled splendour of his fame. Over the memory of no other servant and courtier of Elizabeth does there rest so bright a halo of glory. History has unwoven and dissolved the spell which was once cast by the names of Leicester and Essex : dark blots rest on the fame of Raleigh, and even the pen of Froude cannot wreath the romance round the memories of Burleigh and Walsingham. But Sidney's lustre is undimmed ; he is to posterity what he was to his contemporaries—

As he fought
And as he fell and as he lived and loved
Sublimely mild, a spirit without spot.

Spenser dedicated to him his first important work, the *Shepherd's Calendar*, calling him 'the president of nobleness and chivalry', and when Sidney died honoured him in one of the most eloquent elegies in our language—his *Astrophel*. Gabriel Harvey inscribed a work to him in which he celebrates him as possessing every virtue under heaven. Richard Hakluyt dedicated to him the first series of his *Voyages*, addressing him as 'the secretary of eloquence, the breath of the Muses and the honie-bee of the daintiest flowers of wit and art'. His friend Fulke Greville honoured his memory with the first good biography in our language ; and esteeming Sidney's friendship his highest praise and the greatest boon that fortune had conferred on him, desired

that it should be recorded on his tomb that he had been 'the friend of Sir Philip Sidney'. And it is another testimony to the high honour in which he was held that when his tutor at Christ Church died he also directed that it should be recorded on his tomb that he had been 'the preceptor of that most noble knight, Philip Sidney'. Ben Jonson speaks of him as 'one in whom all the Muses met'. 'Well,' writes Thomas Nash, apostrophizing him, 'well couldst thou give every virtue his encouragement, every wit his due, every writer his desert, 'cause none more virtuous, witty, or learned than thyself.' When he died he was mourned as no other man in England had ever been—indeed, the encomia and elegies poured forth on that occasion, and still extant, would make a small library. Every generation added its testimony to his fame. In the seventeenth century we find Sir William Temple thus extravagantly expressing himself: 'I esteem him both the greatest poet and the noblest genius of any that have left writings behind them and published in ours or in any other modern language.' In the next century we find Thomson apostrophizing him as

The plume of war with early laurels crowned
The lover's myrtle and the poet's bay.

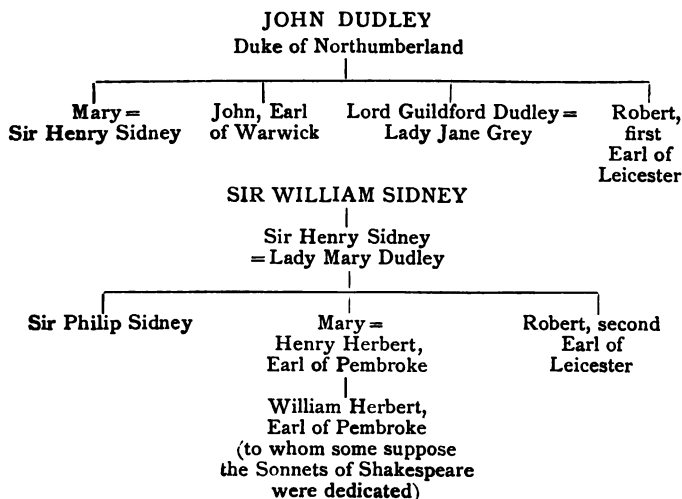
In the nineteenth century he is the hero of what is perhaps the most beautiful of Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*, and only the other day a poet of our own time, William Watson, inspired by the same enthusiasm, thus recalled him:

Rememberest thou the perfect knight,
The soldier, courtier, bard in one,
Sidney, that pensive Hesper-light
O'er Chivalry's departed sun?

For purposes of convenience Sidney's life may be divided into three epochs—from 1554 to 1575, from 1575 to 1584, and from 1584 to 1586.

1554-1575

His pedigree, both on his father's side and on his mother's, is of singular interest. His paternal grandfather was Sir William Sidney, who commanded the right wing of the English forces at the Battle of Flodden Field, and was presented by Henry VIII, for this and for other services, with the estate of Penshurst in Kent, of which Ben Jonson has given so vivid and so charming a description. His father, Sir Henry Sidney, was, in Edward VI's reign, one of the four principal Gentlemen of the Royal Bedchamber, and it was in his arms that the young king died. In Elizabeth's reign Sir Henry—who had been knighted with William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, in 1550—played a most distinguished part, being Lord President of Wales, ambassador to France and Scotland, and finally Lord Deputy of Ireland at a very critical time in Irish history. In 1552 Sir Henry married Lady Mary Dudley, daughter of the Duke of Northumberland. The extraordinary interest attaching to Sidney's ancestry and relations will be apparent from the following pedigree.



It may be added, too, that by the marriage of his uncle with the widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, he was connected with that important family.

Philip was born on St. Andrew's day, November 30th, 1554, at the family seat of Penshurst, the second child of his parents. There was gloom in the house when he first saw the light, for, only fifteen months before, his grandfather on the mother's side—the Duke of Northumberland—had suffered ignobly an ignoble death, being executed for his attempt to secure the crown for his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, having in vain tried to save his life by apostasizing to the Catholics; his grandfather on the father's side had just died; one uncle, Lord Guildford Dudley, with his wife, Lady Jane Grey, had followed his father-in-law to the scaffold, and another uncle, John, Earl of Warwick, had also passed prematurely away.

Of Sidney's childhood and early youth no particulars have survived, though Fulke Greville tells us that he was even in those days distinguished by 'such staidness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years', adding that 'his very play tended to enrich his mind'. He received his early education under Thomas Ashton at Shrewsbury School, for his father, who was at that time Lord President of Wales, frequently resided at Ludlow Castle, about thirty miles distant. Sir Henry took great pains with his son's education; so that the boy while no more than twelve years of age was corresponding with his father both in Latin and in French. From Shrewsbury School young Sidney passed to Christ Church in Oxford, probably about the midsummer of 1568, though he does not appear to have been regularly matriculated. His tutor was Dr. Thomas Thornton, who directed that this fact should be recorded on his tomb, as afterwards it was in Ledbury Church, Hereford. He appears also to have received

instruction from a Mr. Robert Dorset. At Oxford, where he seems to have resided, more or less occasionally perhaps, for some three years, he made the acquaintance of Edward Dyer, who afterwards became distinguished as a diplomatist and is one of the most pleasing of the Elizabethan minor poets; of Richard Hakluyt, so well known afterwards as the editor of the collection of voyages; and of William Camden, the celebrated antiquary. But his more intimate friend and companion was his old schoolfellow Fulke Greville, who, if Sidney resided in Christ Church, was his near neighbour, for Greville had joined Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College.

Sidney left Oxford in the spring of 1571, probably in consequence of the plague then raging there, without a degree. In the spring of the following year he quitted England for a three years' visit to the Continent, it being usual for young men in those days thus to 'complete their education'. He arrived in Paris with a letter of introduction from his uncle Leicester to the English Ambassador, Francis Walsingham. It was a critical time. Catherine De Medici had recently been regarding the Huguenots with favour, and it was then being arranged that Margaret, Charles IX's sister, should marry Henry of Navarre. The marriage—at which Sidney was no doubt present—was celebrated on the 18th of August. Six days afterwards occurred the massacre of St. Bartholomew, during which Sidney found shelter in the English Embassy. Not long afterwards he left Paris and set out for Lorraine. From Lorraine he passed to Strasburg, and thence down the Rhine through Heidelberg to Frankfort. At Frankfort he remained probably for some months; he was certainly there from March till June 1573, lodging with one Andrew Wechel, a learned and well-known printer. Here he met Hubert Languet. This remarkable man had, in 1547, been Professor of Civil Law in the University of

Padua, and had long been an orthodox Catholic, but meeting with Melanchthon during a visit to Würtemberg in 1549 had been converted by him to Protestantism, and was now in the van of the Protestant party. Born in 1518, he was at this time in his fifty-sixth year, Sidney in his nineteenth, but in spite of this disparity in age a close and quite romantic friendship sprang up between them. After their separation they regularly corresponded for some years, ninety-six letters of Languet's and sixteen of Sidney's being still extant. What Sidney owed to Languet he has himself expressed in Philisides' song in the third book of the *Arcadia* :

The song I sang old Languet had me taught,
Languet the shepherd best swift Ister knew.

For clerkly reed, and hating what is naught,
For faithful heart, clean hands and mouth as true.
With his sweet skill my skillless youth he drew
To have a feeling taste of Him that sits
Beyond the heaven, far more beyond our wits.

He said the music best those powers pleased
Was jump accord between our wit and will
Where highest notes to godliness are raised,
And lowest sink not down to jot of ill,
With old true tales he wont mine ears to fill.

Early in the summer of 1573 Languet went with him to Vienna, and introduced him to the Court of the Emperor Maximilian the Second and to many of his friends. In the autumn the two friends parted, Sidney going on to Hungary. In October he was again with Languet in Vienna, staying with him for about a month. He was now anxious to visit Italy, and early in November he set out for Venice. In Italy one of his travelling companions was Lodowick Bryskett, afterwards an intimate friend of Spenser in Ireland, and the translator of Baptista Giraldi's

Discourse of Civil Life. Of this journey in Italy Bryskett, in his *Pastorall Aeglogue upon the Death of Sir Philip Sidney*, gives a most charming account :

Through many a hill and dale,
Through pleasant woods and many an unknown way,
Along the banks of many silver streams,
He with him went ; and with him he did scale
The craggy rocks of th' Alps and Appenine,
Still with the Muses sporting, while those beams
Of virtue kindled in his breast,
Which after did so gloriously forth shine !

He made Venice his head quarters. Whether he met there the aged Titian does not appear, but he became acquainted with the great painter's most illustrious pupils, Tintoretto and Paul Veronese.

But Sidney's life was very far from being spent in mere recreation ; how hard he read and studied is abundantly clear from the Languet correspondence. 'I do beg you,' writes Languet, 'to take care of your health and see that you do not ruin yourself with over-work. A brain too much taxed cannot live long, and a healthy mind is good for nothing unless lodged in a healthy body.' Before he left Italy he was master of Latin, Italian, and French, and anxious also to begin the study of Greek. He had acquainted himself minutely with the history, political as well as social, of the countries through which he had travelled, and had followed closely all that was going on in them. The winter of 1574 he spent with his friend Languet at Vienna. Here too, under the guidance of Pugliano, he made himself an accomplished horseman. On May 31st, 1575, he landed in England.

1575-1583

He now entered on Court and political life. He was at Kenilworth when Queen Elizabeth visited his uncle in

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summer of 1575, and after taking part in those festivities ended the queen during her subsequent progress to Richfield and Chartley Castle. At Chartley he first met Penelope Devereux, who was afterwards to play so important and tragical a part in his life. In the spring of 1577 a very important duty was entrusted to him. He was sent to Germany to congratulate the new Emperor Rodolf the Second, who had just succeeded to the throne vacated by the death of Maximilian in October, 1576. It was necessary for the Protestants to ingratiate themselves with the new emperor, for, as he had grown up under the influence of the Jesuits, it was feared that he would not allow those privileges to the Huguenots which his more tolerant predecessor had done. This embassy not only initiated Sidney's public life, but brought him for the first time into intimate contact with the great struggle of that age. The object of Sidney and of those who supported the Protestant cause was to form an alliance of the Protestant powers against the Catholic. Knowing well that the new emperor's tendency was to depress the Protestants and favour the Catholics, Sidney is said to have pointed out to him in an eloquent speech the necessity of a union among the German powers against Spain and the Catholic countries. The dream of the *Fœdus Evangelicum*, as it was called, was to combine the Lutherans of Germany, the Calvinists of France, Sweden, and the Low Countries, and the various other Protestant sects, into a grand confederation for the defence of religion and liberty. That it should fail was only natural, for the schisms which tore these sects and divided them from one another were not less rabid, obstinate, and irremediable than the schism which separated the Protestants collectively from the Catholics.

After his visit to the Imperial Court, Sidney had an interview at Dordrecht with the great bulwark of Pro-

testantism, William the Silent, Prince of Orange, on whom he made a most favourable impression. On his return to England we find him playing a conspicuous part in social life. A visit of Queen Elizabeth to his uncle at Wanstead led to the composition of his first extant work—a masque, entitled *The Lady of the May*, a wretched performance which is only remarkable for having possibly suggested to Shakespeare the character of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

And now began his connexion with the literary life of his time. It appears to have been initiated by his introduction in July, 1578, to Gabriel Harvey, then busy with his pedantic attempt to revolutionize the form of English poetry by substituting for native metres the metres of the Greek and Roman Classics. Harvey no doubt introduced Spenser to him. Spenser, just fresh from Cambridge, had already translated Du Bellay's *Visions*, and was no doubt meditating his *Shepherd's Calendar*. To Sidney, Spenser was probably indebted for an introduction to the Earl of Leicester, in whose house he was, we know, residing at the end of 1578. Next year the *Shepherd's Calendar* was finished and dedicated to Sidney. The three friends, for acquaintance soon ripened into intimacy, were joined by Sidney's old college friends, Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer, and a literary society was formed which they called the Areopagus. The presiding spirit appears to have been the wretched pedant Gabriel Harvey, who, bent on naturalizing the classical metres in England, persuaded both Spenser and Sidney to turn their hands to them. Spenser soon revolted; what Sidney produced may still be seen in the *Arcadia*.

At this juncture an event occurred which gave Sidney more leisure for purely literary pursuits than was agreeable to him. In 1579 the Duke of Alençon, now Duke of Anjou, renewed his application for the hand of Elizabeth, and it

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supposed that Elizabeth regarded him with favour. The people generally were greatly opposed to such a match, partly because Anjou was a Frenchman and partly because he was a Catholic. A faction at Court, headed by Leicester, were still more emphatically hostile to such a step; and Sidney, probably prompted by his uncle, had the incredible folly to address an elaborate letter to the queen, condemning the marriage and appealing to her patriotism and Protestant zeal. The letter, which is printed in his works, is as admirably expressed as any such letter could be, but considering his youth and position nothing could justify such a liberty. The queen was furious, and for some months Sidney was excluded from her presence and had to go into retirement. The place of his retirement was Wilton, the seat of Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, who in 1577 married Sidney's sister Mary.

The gentlest shepherdess that lives this day,
And most resembling both in shape and spright
Her brother dear. (Spenser's *Astrophel*.)

She shines out in the social history of those times a gracious and beautiful figure. Intellectually at least the equal of her brother, she shared his tastes and his studies. She assisted him in a poetical version of the Psalms, completing it after his death. For her amusement during this retirement at Wilton he wrote the *Arcadia*, which he dedicated to her. 'Your dear self can best witness the manner [in which it was written] being done on loose sheets of paper most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done'—so he writes in the dedication. At Wilton too he probably wrote the *Apologie for Poetrie*, though it is not possible to speak with certainty on the subject.

The anger of the queen did not last long, and in October

of this year, 1580, as we learn from a letter of Languet, he was again at Court; and on New Year's Day, 1581, he made his peace with the queen by presenting her with a gold-headed whip and a chain and heart of gold. But the year thus auspiciously opened was destined to be a very troubled one for him. In September he lost his beloved friend and good genius Hubert Languet, just when he most needed his sympathy and advice. To understand what was at this time filling Sidney's life with distress we must go back a little. We have seen that he first met Penelope Devereux, the daughter of the Earl of Essex, at Chartley in 1575, when she was in her thirteenth year. From that time they often met, and though there appears to have been no love-passages between them, it was certainly the wish of her father, expressed, so it was said, on his death-bed, that she should become Sidney's wife. But Penelope's mother, the Countess of Essex, a hard and worldly woman, was not inclined to further his suit, and during his temporary disgrace in 1579 encouraged another suitor, Lord Rich, the son of that infamous Lord Chancellor who tried More and Fisher. Into a marriage with this man, who appears to have been worthy of his father, Penelope was forced either in 1580 or in 1581. Sidney, mad with rage and chagrin at thus being superseded, now found himself ardently in love with one to whom he seems to have been comparatively indifferent before. There is no doubt that this passion exercised for some time a discomposing and evil influence on his life. The story of it is told in his Sonnets and Songs entitled *Astrophel and Stella*, a singularly interesting and beautiful series of poems entitling him to a very distinguished place among the minor Elizabethan poets.

But his life was a busy one. He sat in Parliament for Kent: he was a prominent figure in most of the great Court functions. He was nominated with the Earl of Warwick

joint-master of the ordnance. In January, 1583, he was knighted, and not long afterwards we find him a candidate for the office of Captain of the Isle of Wight. In the autumn of the same year his affection found a worthier object than Stella, and on September the 21st he became the husband of Frances Walsingham, the daughter of Elizabeth's famous Secretary of State. His marriage appears to have been a happy one, but his restless energy found little satisfaction in a life of repose. At one time he meditated joining an expedition to Newfoundland. At another time he was on the point of setting out on a voyage of discovery to the new world, letters patent being actually issued authorizing him to 'hold for ever such and so much quantity of ground as should amount to the number of thirty hundred thousand acres' in America, but these lands he never claimed, remaining in England.

1584-1586

In 1584 Sidney's chief attention seems to have been devoted partly to Colonial affairs and partly to the interests of Protestantism in Europe. Thus we find him watching with close attention Sir Walter Raleigh's designs in South America, and serving on a commission for settling the boundaries of the projected colony in Virginia. On the death of the Duke of Anjou, the brother of Henry III of France, which took place in the autumn of the year, Sidney was chosen by Elizabeth to convey her condolences to Henry, with instructions also to point out to him the desirableness of opposing the progress of Spain in the Netherlands. In this he was not successful, but on his return from France he pointed out to Elizabeth how important it was that active steps should be taken to prepare for a conflict which was, as he saw, imminent.

It was indeed a critical time. The death of the Duke of Anjou and the assassination of the Prince of Orange made it imperatively necessary for the Protestant powers to keep a watchful eye on the Low Countries, and to prevent them from falling into the hands of Philip II. The Catholic powers, Spain, Rome, and the Jesuit faction in France, were becoming alarmingly active. In the summer of 1585 a deputation from the Netherlands offered Elizabeth the sovereignty of the United Provinces. This she declined, but she agreed to send over an army of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, equipping and paying them out of the English Exchequer, insisting however on holding the towns of Flushing and Brill as security for the liquidation of the debt. The conditions were accepted, and Leicester was nominated commander-in-chief of the queen's forces in the Netherlands, while Sidney was appointed governor of Flushing. He left Gravesend on November 16, and two days later arrived at Flushing. In his responsible post he had many difficulties to contend with ; and disappointment and sorrow added to his burdens. Leicester having appointed him to a military post, a rival candidate, one Count Hohenlohe, took exception to the appointment on the ground that Sidney was a foreigner and appealed to Elizabeth, and Elizabeth took the Count's part. Not long afterwards he heard first the news of his father's death and then of his mother's, to both of whom he was deeply attached. He was anxious to serve in the field, but his uncle wished him to confine himself to his duties at Flushing. In one brilliant action, however, he contrived, without his uncle's knowledge, to take a part, and that was in the capture of Axel, a village about twenty miles from Flushing ; but on joining the main army at Arnheim in hope of further military service, he was ordered by Leicester at once to return to his duties at Flushing. In September Zutphen was invested, and Sidney, still burning to obtain

distinction in the field, joined the forces 'as a volunteer and knight errant', attaching himself to Sir John Norris, who divided the command with Count Lewis William of Nassau. The circumstances under which he met his death were these. It had been reported to Leicester that a troop of Spaniards would, at daybreak on the 22nd of September, convey provisions into Zutphen. Leicester accordingly ordered Norris and Sir William Stanley, with three hundred horsemen, to intercept them. This force Sidney and his brother Robert joined. What ensued may be told in Fulke Greville's words :

... Meeting the Marshall of the Camp lightly armed (whose honour in that art would not suffer this unenvious *Themistocles* to sleep) the unspotted emulation of his heart, to venture without any inequality, made him cast off his Cuisses ; and so, by the secret influence of destinie, to disarm that part, where God (it seems) had resolved to strike him. Thus they go on, every man in the head of his own Troop ; and the weather being misty, fell unawares upon the enemie, who had made a strong stand to receive them, near to the very walls of *Zutphen* ; by reason of which accident their Troops fell, not only unexpectedly to be engaged within the levell of the great shot, that played from the Rampiers, but more fatally within shot of their Muskets, which were layd in ambush within their own trenches.

Now whether this were a desperate cure in our Leaders, for a desperate disease ; or whether misprision, neglect, audacity, or what else induced it, it is no part of my office to determine, but onely to make the narration clear, and deliver rumor, as it passed then, without any stain, or enammel.

Howsoever, by this stand, an unfortunate hand out of those forespoken Trenches, brake the bone of Sir *Philip's* thigh with a Musket-shot. The horse he rode upon, was rather furiously cholleric, than bravely proud, and so forced him to forsake the field, but not his back, as the noblest and fittest biere to carry a Martiall Commander to his grave. In which sad progress, passing along by the rest of the Army, where his Uncle the Generall was, and being thirstie with excess of bleeding, he

called for drink, which was presently brought him ; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, there was a poor Soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same Feast, gastly casting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir *Philip* perceiving, took it from his head, before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, *Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.* And when he had pledged this poor souldier, he was presently carried to *Arnheim*.

At *Arnheim* he lingered in great pain, bearing it with unflinching fortitude, for twenty-five days. His last words, which were addressed to his brother Robert, were :

Love my memory : cherish my friends : their faith to me may assure you they are honest. But above all govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator : in me beholding the end of this world with all her Vanities.

He passed away on the 17th of October, 1586. On October the 24th his body, having been embalmed, was removed to Flushing. Thence it was conveyed to England, and three months afterwards, on February 16, 1587, was interred after a magnificent public funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Of the innumerable elegies which his death called forth—they number between two and three hundred—the most memorable are Spenser's *Astrophel*, Lady Pembroke's *Doleful Lay of Clarinda*, and Matthew Royden's *Friend's Passion for Astrophill*. In this last poem there is a beautiful description, drawn no doubt from nature, of Sidney's face.

A sweet attractive kinde of grace,
A full assurance given by lookes,
Continual comfort in a face,
The lineaments of Gospel bookes ;
I trow that countenance cannot lie
Whose thoughts are legible in the eie.

Few men of whom we have record united so many claims

both to admiration and to affection as Sir Philip Sidney. In the truest and most comprehensive sense of the term he belonged to the aristocrats of mankind, eminent alike in character and in achievement. He is one of those men with whom it is good to be in communion, for in such communion is inspiration. And faithfully as in a mirror is the beautiful personality of Sidney reflected in his writings; therein indeed is their charm. His poetry is full of blemishes and flaws, now uncouth, now tortuously fantastic; but what beauty, what power, what fascination it has! The *Arcadia* may be tedious, even unreadable, as a story, and revolt us with its pedantry and prolixity, but on what intelligent and sensitive reader has it ever failed to cast a spell? And that spell is the mirrored reflection of the personality of its author. In its pictures of chivalrous friendship and chivalrous love, in the solemn and lofty themes so often and so earnestly discussed in its pages, in the sympathies and the antipathies of which it is the expression, in its note, in its accent generally, Sidney as a man seems to live again. The noble treatise here printed may be left to speak for itself; for its author it certainly speaks.

II

INTRODUCTION TO THE 'APOLOGIE'

In 1579 appeared—written by Stephen Gosson, a Kentish man, educated at Oxford—a treatise bearing the following title: '*The Schoole of Abuse*, Containing a plesaunt inuectiue against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters and such like Caterpillers of a Commonwealth! Setting vp the Flagge of Defiaunce to their mischieuous exercise and ouerthrowing their Bulwarkes by Prophane Writers, Naturel reason and common experience,' &c. This treatise

was dedicated to Sir (then Mr.) Philip Sidney. There can be little doubt that if this work did not actually inspire the *Apologie for Poetrie*, it was in Sidney's mind when he wrote the *Apologie*, and that in parts of the work though he nowhere makes any mention of Gosson, he was directly replying to him. That from the first he had no sympathy with Gosson is clear from a letter written by Spenser to Gabriel Harvey, dated October, 1579: 'Newe books I heare of none but only one that writing a certain booke called *The Schoole of Abuse*, and dedicating it to Maister Sidney was for his labour scorned: if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne.' The exact date of the composition of the *Apologie* cannot be settled, but it was probably written either at the end of 1580, when Sidney was in retirement at Wilton, or some time in 1581. In any case it remained in manuscript till nine years after his death, till 1595, in which year two editions were printed, one for Henry Olney having the title *An Apologie for Poetrie*, the other for William Ponsonby having the title *The Defence of Poesie*. From this it would seem that the manuscript itself was without a title.

Historically the work is of great importance, for it may be said to have struck a new note in English prose and to have marked an era in the history of English criticism. Prose writing had indeed been carried in some of its branches to a high pitch of excellence—by Tyndall and the translators of the Bible, for example, and by Cranmer and the compilers of our Liturgy in Theology, in other departments by Elyot and Cheke, in others again by Fisher, by Sir Thomas North, and Sir Thomas More as the author of the *History of Richard the Third*, while the first part of Lyly's *Euphues* had appeared certainly a year, possibly two years, before Sidney could have begun the composition of his treatise. But no prose had blended so happily familiarity with dignity, colloquial ease and grace with

1 rhetorical stateliness. Never before were the humorous and didactic, each in most appropriate expression, so pleasingly harmonized.

As an essay in criticism nothing in English in any way comparable to it had appeared before. Elyot, Wilson, Cheke, and Ascham had indeed some pretension to the name of critics, but their criticism had confined itself to the discussion of form and verbal expression, and there was literally nothing in their writings on which Sidney could draw. It was to the ancient Classics and to the writers of Renaissance Italy that he betook himself for inspiration and instruction. The works which influenced him most were, in order of importance, Aristotle's *Poetics*, with which he was intimately familiar and which he probably read in a Latin translation, having, however, enough Greek to follow the original: with some of the Italian commentators on Aristotle's treatise, particularly with Castelvetro (see note, 52, 5), he was evidently familiar. Next to Aristotle came Plato, on whose *Republic* and *Ion* he frequently draws. He had evidently read the essays in Plutarch's *Morals* which treat of poetry, such as the essay on 'How Young Men should Read the Poets'. The modern works on which he has chiefly drawn are Julius Caesar Scaliger's once famous *Poetics*, an elaborate treatise on poetry in seven books published in 1561, and a somewhat voluminous treatise entitled *De Poetâ*, published in 1559 by one Antonio Sebastiano calling himself Minturno. Both of these works he uses largely. With Homer, Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch among the Greeks, and with the Roman Classics generally, particularly with Cicero, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, he was plainly well acquainted, and his reading in modern Italian literature, both Latin and vernacular, was extraordinarily wide and multifarious. And yet it would be no paradox to say that all this practically

detracts but little from the originality of the treatise. Its arresting charm, its distinguishing characteristic, is its genuine and all-pervading enthusiasm, which fuses into unity the main thesis and makes the work both in the effect of its general impression and in its central purpose absolutely unique.

It is not a little singular that this little work should have been produced at the particular time it was produced, on the very dawn of the most glorious epoch of our national poetry, immediately after Spenser had given the first faint promise of the *Faerie Queene*, and just as the genius of Shakespeare, then a boy of seventeen or eighteen, was beginning to awake. Of all the great countries of Europe, England in 1581 stood lowest both in the quantity and in the quality of what had been achieved in poetry. One poet only of classical rank had appeared—Geoffrey Chaucer. Gower and Langland, Lydgate, Hawes and Skelton, the Company of Courtly Makers, and the contributors to *The Mirror for Magistrates*, of whom one only—Sackville—had any pretention to genius, these and a few other mediocrities made up the tale. Nothing memorable, with the exception of *Gorboduc* had been produced in the drama. In less than twenty-five years after the composition of Sidney's treatise our drama was without rival in the ancient and modern world; our epic had in the *Faerie Queene* disputed the supremacy, with the single exception of the *Divine Comedy*, of anything which had been produced since the *Aeneid*, and there was scarcely any branch of poetry in which immortal fame had not been earned.

The treatise may for purposes of convenience be divided into nine sections, but, as a running analysis accompanies the text, it is not necessary here to discuss it in detail or indeed to do more than indicate its main drift. First comes the semi-humorous prologue—if the art of horse-

manship merits so eloquent a eulogy and vindication, surely poetry, if decried and vilified, merits eulogy and vindication too.[✓] To attack poetry is to attack nothing less than culture and intelligence generally, for the earliest philosophers, historians, and religious legislators were poets, and of these Sidney gives instances from the

Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews.³ Next he proceeds to define what a poet is—he is a maker or creator, and poetry itself is the art of imitation or representation.

4 The various kinds of poetry are then classified, and it is pointed out that poetry need not necessarily express itself in metre.⁵ The relation of poetry both to philosophy and to history is then explained, and the reason of its superiority to both demonstrated—examples and illustrations of all this being given in a running commentary.⁶ The various species of poetry, pastoral, elegiac, iambic, satiric, comic, tragic, lyric, and heroic, are next considered, and the objections which have been raised to them answered:—it is not useless, it is not deceptive, and if it be immoral that is not its use but its abuse and perversion: to accuse poetry, as some have done, of tending to make a nation effeminate is to bring a charge against it which may be brought with equal justice against all learning, and it is a charge refuted by facts, for poetry has always been the favourite companion of soldiers and men of action.⁷ He then proceeds to deal with Plato's objection to poets as members of his ideal commonwealth—showing that what Plato really objected to was not poetry regarded in relation to its proper functions but in relation to its improper.

8 Next he deals with the low repute into which poetry had fallen in England, attributing it partly to a sort of lethargy in the people and partly to the inferiority of its representatives, nature not inspiring them. He then reviews the state of poetry in England from Chaucer to his own time, dwelling especially on the degradation of the popular drama and

Introduction to the 'Apologie'

censuring *Gorboduc*, the only praiseworthy attempt at drama for the violation of the Unities. He goes on next to discuss Tragedy and Comedy, showing how necessary it is that they should observe the Unities and not be confounded, and emphasizing the fact that Comedy should not only amuse but morally instruct. From discussing Comedy and Tragedy he passes to lyric poetry and to style and diction generally, both as it applies to prose and as it applies to verse, censuring the style in vogue as too artificial and too studious of conceits. Lastly he treats of prosody, dwelling on the great advantage possessed by the English language in admitting both the unrhymed quantitative system of the ancient poetry and the rhyme peculiar to modern languages, and discussing the caesura. The treatise concludes with a peroration summing up the claims of poetry to veneration and honour, with a semi-humorous blessing on those who love and appreciate it and a semi-humorous denunciation of those who are insensible of its charms and its importance.

We must not expect more from this little work than it promises to give. Sidney is not so much a critic as an interpreter and prophet; his business is not with analysis and judicial discrimination; it is simply to vindicate the educational importance—and that in the widest sense of the term—of poetry, of an art popularly associated only with its secondary and subordinate functions and recently vilified and misrepresented. His object is to show that it should be to us and to the modern world what it was to the Greeks and the ancient world, but that it can never be this till we conceive worthily of it and distinguish between its higher and lower forms of expression.

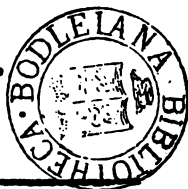
The history of the text is briefly this. As I have already noticed, the treatise was not published till nine years after Sidney's death, when in 1595 two editions appeared, one

printed for William Ponsonby under the title of *The Defence of Poesie* and another for Henry Olney under the title of *An Apologie for Poetrie*. There are considerable differences between the readings of the two editions, probably in consequence of their being printed from different manuscripts, and which came nearest to Sidney's autograph it is impossible to say. As a rule Olney's text is preferable, and it is Olney's text which is the basis of that here reprinted. In 1598 Ponsonby reprinted the treatise in the folio volume containing the *Arcadia*, and in the following year it appeared in a similar volume published at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave, and this edition follows the readings of the two Ponsonby editions. After this it was frequently reprinted both independently and as a part of Sidney's collected works.

AN
APOLOGIE
for Poetrie.

Written by the right noble, vertuous,
and learned, Sir Phillip
Sidney, Knight.

Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.



AT LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Olney*, and are to be sold at
his shop in *Paules Church-yard*, at the signe
of the *George*, neere to *Cheap-gate*.
Anno, 1595.

AN APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE

Introduction—Pugliano's eulogy of horsemanship.

WHEN the right vertuous *Edward Wotton* and I were at the Emperors Court together, wee gaue our selues to learne horsemanship of *Iohn Pietro Pugliano*, one that
5 with great commendation had the place of an Esquire in his stable. And hee, according to the fertillnes of the Italian wit, did not onely afoord vs the demonstration of his practise, but sought to enrich our mindes with the contemplations therein which hee thought most precious.
10 But with none I remember mine eares were at any time more loden, then when (either angred with slowe paiment, or mooued with our learner-like admiration) he exercised his speech in the prayse of his facultie. Hee sayd, Souldiours were the noblest estate of mankinde, and
15 horsemen the noblest of Souldiours. Hee sayde they were the Maisters of warre, and ornaments of peace; speedy goers, and strong abiders; triumphers both in Camps and Courts. Nay, to so vnbeleueed a poynt hee proceeded, as that no earthly thing bred such wonder to a
20 Prince as to be a good horseman. Skill of gouernment was but a Pedanteria in comparison. Then would hee adde certaine prayses, by telling what a peerlesse beast a horse was, the onely seruiceable Courtier without flattery, the beast of most beutie, faithfulness, courage, and such
25 more, that, if I had not beene a peece of a Logician before I came to him, I think he would haue perswaded mee to haue wished my selfe a horse. But thus much at least with his no few words hee draue into me, that selfe-loue is better then any guilding to make that seeme gorgious
30 wherein our selues are parties.

Sidney, having the same affection for Poetry as Pugliano for horsemanship, undertakes its defence.

Wherein, if *Pugliano* his strong affection and weake arguments will not satisfie you, I wil giue you a neerer example of my selfe, who (I knowe not by what mischance) in these my not old yeres and idelest times hauing slipt into the title of a Poet, am prouoked to say something vnto you in the defence of that my vnelected vocation, which if I handle with more good will then good reasons, beare with me, sith the scholler is to be pardoned that foloweth the steppes of his Maister. And yet I must say that, as I haue iust cause to make a pittiful defence of poore Poetry, which from almost the highest estimation of learning is fallen to be the laughing-stocke of children, so haue I need to bring some more auailable proofes, sith the former is by no man barred of his deserued credite, the silly latter hath had euen the names of Philosophers vsed to the defacing of it, with great danger of ciuill war among the Muses.

First argument in its favour—its antiquity.

And first, truly to al them that professing learning inueigh against Poetry, may iustly be obiected, that they goe very neer to vngratfulnes, to seek to deface that which, in the noblest nations and languages that are knowne, hath been the first light-giuer to ignorance, and first Nurse, whose milk by little and little enabled them to feed afterwards of tougher knowledges: and will they now play the Hedghog that, being receiued into the den, draue out his host, or rather the Vipers, that with theyr birth kill their Parents? Let learned Greece in any of her manifold Sciences be able to shew me one booke before *Musæus*, *Homer*, and *Hesiodus*, all three nothing

els but Poets. Nay, let any historie be brought that can say any Writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skil, as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and some other are named, who, hauing beene the first of that Country that
 5 made pens deliuerers of their knowledge to their posterity, may iustly chalenge to bee called their Fathers in learning, for not only in time they had this priority (although in it self antiquity be venerable) but went before them, as causes to drawe with their charming sweetnes the wild
 10 vntamed wits to an admiration of knowledge, so as *Amphion* was sayde to moue stones with his Poetrie to build Thebes, and *Orpheus* to be listened to by beastes, indeed stony and beastly people. So among the Romans were *Liuius Andronicus*, and *Ennius*. So in the Italian language the
 15 first that made it aspire to be a Treasure-house of Science were the Poets *Dante*, *Boccace*, and *Petrarch*. So in our English were *Gower* and *Chaucer*, after whom, encouraged and delighted with theyr excellent fore-going, others haue followed, to beautifie our mother tongue, as wel in the
 20 same kinde as in other Arts.

The earliest Philosophers were Poets.

This did so notably shewe it selfe, that the Phylosophers of Greece durst not a long time appeare to the worlde but vnder the masks of Poets. So *Thales*, *Empedocles*, and *Parmenides* sange their naturall Phylosophie in verses: so did
 25 *Pythagoras* and *Phocylides* their morral counsellis: so did *Tyrtæus* in war matters, and *Solon* in matters of policie: or rather, they, beeing Poets, dyd exercise their delightful vaine in those points of highest knowledge, which before them lay hid to the world. For that wise *Solon* was
 30 directly a Poet it is manifest, hauing written in verse the notable fable of the Atlantick Iland, which was continued by *Plato*. And truely, euen *Plato* whosoever well considereth shall find that in the body of his work, though the

inside and strength were Philosophy, the skinne as it were and beautie depended most of Poetrie: for all standeth vpon Dialogues, wherein he faineth many honest Burgesses of Athens to speake of such matters, that, if they had been sette on the racke, they would neuer haue confessed them, 5 besides his poetical describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well ordering of a banquet, the delicacie of a walke, with enterlacing meere tales, as *Gyges* Ring, and others, which, who knoweth not to be flowers of Poetrie, did neuer walke into *Apollos* Garden. 10

The earliest Historians were Poets.

And euen Historiographers (although theyr lippes sounde of things doone, and veritie be written in theyr fore-heads) haue been glad to borrow both fashion and perchance weight of Poets. So *Herodotus* entituled his Historie by the name of the nine Muses, and both he and 15 all the rest that followed him either stole or vsurped of Poetrie their passionate describing of passions, the many particularities of batailles, which no man could affirme, or, if that be denied me, long Orations put in the mouthes of great Kings and Captaines, which it is certaine 20 they neuer pronounced. So that, truely, neyther Phylosopher nor Historiographer coulede at the first haue entred into the gates of populer iudgements, if they had not taken a great passport of Poetry, which in all Nations at this day, wher learning florisheth not, is plaine to be seene, in 25 all which they haue some feeling of Poetry.

Popularity of Poetry among uncivilized nations, in Turkey, among the Indians, and in Wales.

In Turkey, besides their lawe-giuing Diuines, they haue no other Writers but Poets. In our neighbour Countrey Ireland, where truelie learning goeth very bare, yet are they Poets held in a deuoute reuerence. Euen among the

most barbarous and simple Indians where no writing is, yet haue they their Poets, who make and sing songs, which they call *Areytos*, both of their Auncestors deedes and praises of their Gods—a sufficient probabilitie that if euer
 5 learning come among them, it must be by hauing their hard dull wits softned and sharpened with the sweete delights of Poetrie. (For vntill they find a pleasure in the exercises of the minde, great promises of much knowledge will little
 10 perswade them that knowe not the fruites of knowledge.) In Wales, the true remnant of the auncient Brittons, as there are good authorities to shewe the long time they had Poets, which they called *Bardes*, so thorough all the conquests of Romaines, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, some of whom did seeke to ruine all memory of learning
 15 from among them, yet doo their Poets, euen to this day, last; so as it is not more notable in soone beginning then in long continuing. But since the Authors of most of our Sciences were the Romans, and before them the Greekes, let vs a little stand vppon their authorities, but euen so
 20 farre as to see what names they haue giuen vnto this now scorned skill.

Prophetic character of Poetry illustrated by the Roman name for a poet.

Among the Romans a Poet was called *Vates*, which is as much as a Diuiner, Fore-seer, or Prophet, as by his conioyned wordes *Vaticinium* and *Vaticinari* is manifest:
 25 so heauenly a title did that excellent people bestow vpon this hart-rauishing knowledge. And so farre were they carried into the admiration thereof, that they thought in the chaunceable hitting vppon any such verses great fore-tokens of their following fortunes were placed. Where-
 30 upon grew the worde of *Sortes Virgilianae*, when, by suddaine opening *Virgils* booke, they lighted vpon any verse of hys making: whereof the histories of the

Emperors liues are full, as of *Albinus*, the Gouvernour of our Iland, who in his childehoode mette with this verse,

Arma amens capio nec sat rationis in armis ;

and in his age performed it : which, although it were a very vaine and godles superstition, as also it was to think⁵ that spirits were commaunded by such verses—whereupon this word charmes, deriued of *Carmina*, commeth—so yet serueth it to shew the great reuerence those wits were helde in. And altogether not without ground, since both the Oracles of *Delphos* and *Sibyllas* prophecies were wholly¹⁰ deliuered in verses. For that same exquisite obseruing of number and measure in words, and that high flying liberty of conceit proper to the Poet, did seeme to haue some dyuine force in it.

Further illustrations of the diuine nature of Poetry.

And may not I presume a little further, to shew the¹⁵ reasonableness of this worde *Vates*, and say that the holy *Dauids* Psalmes are a diuine Poem? If I doo, I shall not do it without the testimonie of great learned men, both auncient and moderne : but euen the name Psalmes will speake for mee, which, being interpreted, is nothing but²⁰ songes; then that it is fully written in meeter, as all learned Hebricians agree, although the rules be not yet fully found; lastly and principally, his handling his prophecy, which is meereley poetical. For what els is the awaking his musicall instruments, the often and free²⁵ changing of persons, his notable *Prosopopeias*, when he maketh you, as it were, see God comming in his Maiestie, his telling of the Beastes ioyfulness, and hills leaping, but³⁰ a heauenlie poesie, wherein almost hee sheweth himselfe a passionate louer of that vnspeakable and euerlasting³⁵ beautie to be seene by the eyes of the minde, onely cleered

by fayth ? But truely nowe hauing named him, I feare mee
I seeme to prophane that holy name, applying it to Poetrie,
which is among vs throwne downe to so ridiculous an
estimation : but they that with quiet iudgements will looke
5 a little deeper into it, shall finde the end and working of it
such, as, beeing rightly applyed, deserueth not to bee
scourged out of the Church of God.

*The Greek word Poet expresses the creative power by
which Poetry is exalted above all branches of know-
ledge which deal with the world as it is.*

But now, let vs see how the Greekes named it, and
howe they deemed of it. The Greekes called him a Poet,
10 which name hath, as the most excellent, gone thorough
other Languages. It commeth of this word *Poiein*, which
is to make : wherein, I know not whether by lucke or
wisedome, wee Englishmen haue mette with the Greekes
in calling him a maker : which name, how high and
15 incomparable a title it is, I had rather were knowne by
marking the scope of other Sciences then by my partiall
allegation.

There is no Arte deliuered to mankinde that hath not
the workes of Nature for his principall obiect, without
20 which they could not consist, and on which they so
depend, as they become Actors and Players, as it were, of
what Nature will haue set foorth. So doth the Astronomer
looke vpon the starres, and, by that he seeth, setteth downe
what order Nature hath taken therein. So doe the
25 Geometrician and Arithmetician in their diuerse sorts of
quantities. So doth the Musitian in times tel you which
by nature agree, which not. The naturall Philosopher
thereon hath his name, and the Morrall Philosopher
standeth vpon the naturall vertues, vices, and passions of
30 man ; and 'followe Nature' (saith hee) 'therein, and thou
shalt not erre.' The Lawyer sayth what men haue deter-

An Apologie for Poetrie

the Historian what men haue done. The
 rian speaketh onely of the rules of speech; and
 orician and Logitian, considering what in Nature
 .. honest proue and perswade, thereon giue artificial
 rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a 5
 question according to the proposed matter. The Phisition
 waigheth the nature of a mans bodie, and the nature of
 things helpful or hurtfull vnto it. And the Metaphisick,
 though it be in the seconde and abstract notions, and
 therefore be counted supernaturall, yet doth hee indeede 10
 builde vpon the depth of Nature.

The functions of Poetry—its relation to fact and nature.

Onely the Poet, disdayning to be tied to any such
 subiection, lifted vp with the vigor of his owne inuention,
 dooth growe in effect another nature, in making things
 either better then Nature bringeth forth, or, quite a newe, 15
 formes such as neuer were in Nature, as the *Heroes*,
Demigods, *Cyclops*, *Chimeras*, *Furies*, and such like: so as
 hee goeth hand in hand with Nature, not inclosed within
 the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging onely
 within the Zodiack of his owne wit. 20

Nature neuer set forth the earth in so rich tapistry
 as diuers Poets haue done, neither with plesant riuers,
 fruitful trees, sweet smelling flowers, nor whatsoever
 els may make the too much loued earth more louely.
 Her world is brasen, the Poets only deliuer a golden. 25
 But let those things alone and goe to man, for whom
 as the other things are, so it seemeth in him her vtter-
 most cunning is imployed, and knowe whether shee haue
 brought forth so true a louer as *Theagenes*, so constant
 a friende as *Pylades*, so valiant a man as *Orlando*, so right 30
 a Prince as *Xenophons Cyrus*, so excellent a man euery
 way as *Virgils Aeneas*. Neither let this be iestingly con-
 ceiued, because the works of the one be essentiall, the

other, in imitation or fiction; for any vnderstanding knoweth the skil of the Artificer standeth in that *Idea* or fore-conceite of the work, and not in the work it selfe. And that the Poet hath that *Idea* is manifest, by deliuering
5 them forth in such excellencie as hee hath imagined them. Which deliuering forth also is not wholie imaginatiue, as we are wont to say by them that build Castles in the ayre: but so farre substantially it worketh, not onely to make a *Cyrus*, which had been but a particuler excellencie,
10 as Nature might haue done, but to bestow a *Cyrus* vpon the worlde, to make many *Cyrus*'s, if they wil learne aright why and how that Maker made him.

Neither let it be deemed too sawcie a comparison to ballance the highest poynt of mans wit with the efficacie
15 of Nature: but rather giue right honor to the heauenly Maker of that maker, who, hauing made man to his owne likenes, set him beyond and ouer all the workes of that second nature, which in nothing hee sheweth so much as in Poetrie. When with the force of a diuine breath he
20 bringeth things forth far surpassing her dooings, with no small argument to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of *Adam*, sith our erected wit maketh vs know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth vs from reaching vnto it. But these arguments wil by fewe be
25 vnderstood, and by fewer granted. Thus much (I hope) will be giuen me, that the Greekes with some probabilitie of reason gaue him the name aboue all names of learning. Now let vs goe to a more ordinary opening of him, that the trueth may be more palpable: and so I hope, though
30 we get not so vnmatched a praise as the Etimologie of his names wil grant, yet his very description, which no man will denie, shall not iustly be barred from a principall commendation.

✓ *Poetry an Art of Imitation, of which there are three kinds—
first, sacred poetry, second, philosophical poetry, and
third, poetry in the strict sense of the Greek term.*

Poesie therefore is an arte of imitation, for so *Aristotle* termeth it in his word *Mimesis*, that is to say, a representing, counterfetting, or figuring foorth: to speake metaphorically, a speaking picture: with this end, to teach and delight. Of this haue beene three seuerall kindes. 5

The chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie were they that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of GOD. Such were *Dauid* in his Psalmes, *Solomon* in his song of Songs, in his Ecclesiastes, and Prouerbs, *Moses* and *Deborah* in theyr Hymnes, and the writer of *Iob*, which, beside other, the learned *Emanuel Tremellius* and *Franciscus Iunius* doe entitle the poetically part of the Scripture. Against these none will speake that hath the holie Ghost in due holy reuerence. In this kinde, though in a full wrong diuinitie, were *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Homer* in 15 his hymnes, and many other, both Greekes and Romaines, and this Poesie must be vsed by whosoeuer will follow *S. Iames* his counsell in singing Psalmes when they are merry, and I knowe is vsed with the fruite of comfort by some, when, in sorrowfull pangs of their death-bringing 20 sinnes, they find the consolation of the neuer-leauing goodnesse.

The second kinde is of them that deale with matters Philosophicall; eyther morrall, as *Tyrtæus*, *Phocylides*, and *Cato*; or naturall, as *Lucretius* and *Virgils Georgicks*; or 25 Astronomicall, as *Manilius* and *Pontanus*; or historical, as *Lucan*: which who mislike, the faulte is in their iudgements quite out of taste, and not in the sweet foode of sweetly vttered knowledge.

But because thys second sorte is wrapped within the 30 folde of the proposed subiect, and takes not the course of

his owne inuention, whether they properly be Poets or no let Gramarians dispute, and goe to the thyrd, indeed right Poets, of whom chiefly this question ariseth, betwixt whom and these second is such a kinde of difference as betwixt
5 the meaner sort of Painters, who counterfet onely such faces as are sette before them, and the more excellent, who, hauing no law but wit, bestow that in cullours vpon you which is fittest for the eye to see, as the constant though lamenting looke of *Lucretia*, when she punished in her selfe
10 an others fault, wherein he painteth not *Lucretia* whom he neuer sawe, but painteth the outwarde beauty of such a vertue. For these third be they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight, and to imitate borrow nothing
15 of what is, hath been, or shall be, but range, onely rayned with learned discretion, into the diuine consideration of what may be, and should be. These bee they that, as the first and most noble sorte may iustly bee termed *Vates*, so these are waited on in the excellen[te]st languages and best vnderstandings, with the fore described name of Poets:
20 for these indeede doo meerely make to imitate, and imitate both to delight and teach, and delight to moue men to take that goodnes in hande, which without delight they would flye as from a stranger, and teach, to make them know that goodnes whereunto they are moued, which
25 being the noblest scope to which euer any learning was directed, yet want there not idle tongues to barke at them.

*Divisions of the third kind of Poetry. Verse not
essential to Poetry—illustrations.*

These be subdiuided into sundry more speciall denominations. The most notable bee the *Heroick*, *Lirick*, *Tragick*,
30 *Comick*, *Satirick*, *Iambick*, *Elegiack*, *Pastorall*, and certaine others, some of these being termed according to the matter they deale with, some by the sorts of verses they liked best to write in, for indeede the greatest part of

Poets have apparelled their poetick inuentions in that
 numbrous kinde of writing which is called verse, indeed
 but apparelled, verse being but an ornament and no cause
 to Poetry, sith there haue beene many most excellent
 Poets that neuer versified, and now swarme many versi- 5
 fiers that neede neuer aunswere to the name of Poets.
 For *Xenophon*, who did imitate so excellently as to giue
 vs *effigiem iusti imperii*, the portraiture of a iust Empire
 vnder the name of *Cyrus* (as *Cicero* sayth of him), made
 therein an absolute heroicall Poem. So did *Hekodorus* in 10
 his sugred inuention of that picture of loue in *Theagenes*
 and *Chariclea*; and yet both these writ in Prose: which
 I speak to shew that it is not riming and versing that
 maketh a Poet, no more then a long gowne maketh an
 Aduocate, who though he pleaded in armor should be 15
 an Aduocate and no Souldier. But it is that fayning
 notable images of vertues, vices, or what els, with that
 delightfull teaching, which must be the right describing
 note to know a Poet by, although indeed the Senate of
 Poets hath chosen verse as their fittest rayment, meaning, 20
 as in matter they passed all in all, so in maner to goe
 beyond them, not speaking (table talke fashion or like
 men in a dreame) words as they chanceably fall from the
 mouth, but peyzing each sillable of each worde by iust
 proportion according to the dignitie of the subiect. 25

*In the promotion of the final end of all knowledge Poetry
 may be shewn to be superior to all sciences.*

Nowe therefore it shall not bee amisse first to waigh
 this latter sort of Poetrie by his works, and then by his
 partes, and, if in neyther of these Anatomies hee be
 condemnable, I hope wee shall obtaine a more fauourable
 sentence. This purifying of wit, this enritching of memory, 30
 enabling of iudgment, and enlarging of conceyt, which
 commonly we call learning, vnder what name soeuer it

com forth, for to what immediat end soeuer it be directed,
the final end is to lead and draw vs to as high a perfection
as our degenerate soules, made worse by theyr clayey
lodgings, can be capable of. This, according to the inclina-
tion of the man, bred many formed impressions. For some
that thought this felicity principally to be gotten by know-
ledge, and no knowledge to be so high and heauenly
as acquaintance with the starres, gaue themselues to
Astronomie; others, perswading themselues to be *Demi-*
¹⁰ *gods* if they knewe the causes of things, became naturall
and supernaturall Philosophers; some an admirable delight
drew to Musicke; and some the certainty of demonstration
to the Mathematickes; but all, one and other, hauing this
scope—to knowe, and by knowledge to lift vp the mind
¹⁵ from the dungeon of the body to the enioying his owne
diuine essence. But when by the ballance of experience
it was found that the Astronomer looking to the starres
might fall into a ditch, that the enquiring Philosopher
might be blinde in himselfe, and the Mathematician might
²⁰ draw foorth a straight line with a crooked hart, then loe,
did prooue, the ouer ruler of opinions, make manifest that
all these are but seruing Sciences, which, as they haue
each a priuate end in themselues, so yet are they all
directed to the highest end of the mistres Knowledge,
²⁵ by the Greekes called *Architectonike*, which stands, (as I
thinke) in the knowledge of a mans selfe, in the Ethicke
and politick consideration, with the end of well dooing
and not of well knowing onely; euen as the Sadlers next
end is to make a good saddle, but his farther end to serue
³⁰ a nobler facultie, which is horsemanship; so the horse-
mans to souldiery, and the Souldier not onely to haue the
skill, but to performe the practise of a Souldier: so that,
the ending end of all earthly learning being vertuous
action, those skilles, that most serue to bring forth that,
³⁵ haue a most iust title to bee Princes ouer all the rest.

Wherein if wee can shewe the Poets noblenes, by setting him before his other Competitors, among whom as principall challengers step forth the morrall Philosophers, whom, me thinketh, I see comming towards mee with a sullen grauity, as though they could not abide vice by day light, 5 rudely clothed for to witnes outwardly their contempt of outward things, with bookes in their hands agaynst glory, whereto they sette theyr names, sophisticall^y speaking against subtilty, and angry with any man in whom they see the foule fault of anger. 10

On what grounds Philosophy claims to be the best teacher of Virtue.

These men casting larges as they goe of Definitions, Diuisions, and Distinctions, with a scornefull interogatiue doe soberly aske whether it bee possible to finde any path so ready to leade a man to vertue as that which teacheth what vertue is, and teacheth it not onely by deliuering forth 15 his very being, his causes, and effects, but also by making known his enemie vice, which must be destroyed, and his combersome seruant Passion, which must be maistered, by shewing the generalities that contayneth it, and the specialities that are deriued from it, lastly, by playne 20 setting downe, how it extendeth it selfe out of the limits of a mans own little world to the gouernment of families, and maintayning of publike societies.

On what grounds History claims to be superior to Philosophy.

The Historian scarcely giueth leysure to the Moralist to say so much, but that he, loden with old Mouse-eaten 25 records, authorising himselfe (for the most part) vpon other histories, whose greatest authorities are built vpon the notable foundation of Heare-say, hauing much a-doe to accord differing Writers and to pick trueth out of

partiality, better acquainted with a thousande yeeres a
goe then with the present age, and yet better knowing
how this world goeth then how his owne wit runneth,
curious for antiquities and inquisitiue of nouelties, a
5 wonder to young folkes and a tyrant in table talke,
denieth, in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of
vertue, and vertuous actions, is comparable to him. 'I am
Lux vitae, Temporum magistra, Vita memoriae, Nuncia
vetustatis, &c. The Phylosopher' (sayth hee) 'teacheth a
10 disputatiue vertue, but I doe an actiue. His vertue is
excellent in the dangerlesse Academie of *Plato*, but mine
sheweth foorth her honorable face in the battailes of
Marathon, Pharsalia, Poitiers, and *Agincourt*. Hee
teacheth vertue by certaine abstract considerations, but
15 I onely bid you follow the footing of them that haue gone
before you. Olde-aged experience goeth beyond the fine-
witted Phylosopher, but I giue the experience of many ages.
Lastly, if he make the Song-booke, I put the learners hande
to the Lute: and if hee be the guide, I am the light.'
20 Then woulde hee alledge you innumerable examples,
conferring storie by storie, how much the wisest Senatours
and Princes haue beene directed by the credite of history,
as *Brutus, Alphonsus of Aragon*, and who not, if need
bee? At length the long lyne of theyr disputation maketh
25 a poynt in thys, that the one giueth the precept, and the
other the example.

*The pre-eminence claimed by Philosophy and History
really belongs to Poetry.*

Nowe, whom shall wee finde (sith the question standeth
for the highest forme in the Schoole of learning) to bee
Moderator? Trulie, as mee seemeth, the Poet; and if not
30 a Moderator, euen the man that ought to carrie the title
from them both, and much more from all other seruing
Sciences. Therefore compare we the Poet with the

Historian, and with the Morrall Phylosopher, and, if hee goe beyond them both, no other humane skill can match him. For as for the Diuine, with all reuerence it is euer to be excepted, not only for hauing his scope as far beyonde any of these as eternitie exceedeth a moment, 5 but euen for passing each of these in themselues. And for the Lawyer, though *Ius* bee the Daughter of Iustice, and Iustice the chiefe of Vertues, yet because hee seeketh to make men good rather *Formidine poenae* then *Virtutis amore*, or, to say righter, dooth not indeuour to make men 10 good, but that their euill hurt not others, hauing no care, so hee be a good Cittizen, how bad a man he be, therefore, as our wickednesse maketh him necessarie, and necessitie maketh him honorable, so is hee not in the deepest trueth to stande in rancke with these who all indeuour to take 15 naughtines away, and plant goodnesse euen in the secretest cabinet of our soules. And these foure are all that any way deale in that consideration of mens manners, which beeing the supreme knowledge, they that best breed it deserue the best commendation.

20

Philosophy gives precepts, History gives examples, but Poetry gives both.

The Philosopher therefore and the Historian are they which would win the goale, the one by precept, the other by example. But both not hauing both, doe both halte. ✓ For the Philosopher, setting downe with thorny argument the bare rule, is so hard of vtterance, and so mistie to bee 15 conceiued, that one that hath no other guide but him shall wade in him till hee be olde before he shall finde sufficient cause to bee honest: for his knowledge standeth so vpon the abstract and generall, that happie is that man who ✓ may vnderstande him, and more happie that can applye 20 what hee dooth vnderstand. On the other side, the Historian, wanting the precept, is so tyed, not to what

shoulde bee but to what is, to the particuler truth of things and not to the general reason of things, that hys example draweth no necessary consequence, and therefore a lesse fruitfull doctrine.

Poetry gives perfect pictures of Virtue which are far more effective than the mere definitions of Philosophy.

- 5 Nowe dooth the peerelesse Poet performe both: for
 whatsoever the Philosopher sayth shoulde be doone, hee
 giueth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee
 presupposeth it was doone. So as hee coupleth the
 generall notion with the particuler example, A perfect
 10 picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde
 an image of that whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but
 a woordish description (which dooth neyther strike, pierce,
 nor possesse the sight of the soule so much as that other
 dooth.)
- 15 For as in outward things, to a man that had neuer seene
 an Elephant or a Rinoceros, who should tell him most
 exquisitely all theyr shapes, cullour, bignesse, and perticular
 markes, or of a gorgeous Pallace the Architecture, with
 declaring the full beauties might well make the hearer
 20 able to repeate, as it were by rote, all hee had heard, yet
 should neuer satisfie his inward conceits with being witnes
 to it selfe of a true liuely knowledge: but the same man,
 as soone as hee might see those beasts well painted, or
 the house wel in moddel, should straightwaies grow, with-
 25 out need of any description, to a iudicial comprehending
 of them: so no doubt the Philosopher with his learned
 definition, bee it of vertue, vices, matters of publick policie
 or priuat gouernment, replenisheth the memory with many
 infallible grounds of wisdom, which, notwithstanding, lye
 30 darke before the imaginatiue and iudging powre, if they
 bee not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking
 picture of Poesie.]

Illustrations.

Tullie taketh much paynes, and many times not without poetically helps, to make vs knowe the force loue of our Countrey hath in vs. Let vs but heare old *Anchises* speaking in the midst of Troyes flames, or see *Vlysses* in the fulnes of all *Calypso's* delights bewaile his absence 5 from barraine and beggerly *Ithaca*. Anger, the *Stoicks* say, was a short madnes: let but *Sophocles* bring you *Ajax* on a stage, killing and whipping Sheepe and Oxen, thinking them the Army of Greeks, with theyr Chieftaines *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, and tell mee if you 10 haue not a more familiar insight into anger then finding in the Schoolemen his *Genus* and difference. See whether wisdome and temperance in *Vlysses* and *Diomedes*, valure in *Achilles*, friendship in *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, euen to an ignoraunt man carry not an apparent shyning, and, con- 15 trarily, the remorse of conscience in *Oedipus*, the soone repenting pride of *Agamemnon*, the selfe-deuouring crueltie in his Father *Atreus*, the violence of ambition in the two *Theban* brothers, the sowre-sweetnes of reuenge in *Medea*, and, to fall lower, the *Terentian Gnatho* and our *Chaucers* 20 *Pandar* so exprest that we nowe vse their names to signifie their trades, and finally, all vertues, vices, and passions so in their own naturall seates layd to the viewe, that wee seeme not to heare of them, but cleerely to see through them. But euen in the most excellent determina- 25 tion of goodnes, what Philosophers counsell can so redily direct a Prince, as the fayned *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or a vertuous man in all fortunes, as *Aeneas* in *Virgil*, or a whole Common-wealth, as the way of Sir *Thomas Moores Eutopia*? I say the way, because where Sir *Thomas Moore* 30 erred, it was the fault of the man and not of the Poet, for that way of patterning a Common-wealth was most absolute, though hee perchaunce hath not so absolutely

perfourmed it : for the question is, whether the fayned image
of Poesie or the regular instruction of Philosophy hath
the more force in teaching: wherein if the Philosophers
haue more rightly shewed themselues Philosophers then
5 the Poets haue obtained to the high top of their profession,
as in truth

*Mediocribus esse poetis,
Non Di, non homines, non concessere Columnae,*

it is, I say againe, not the fault of the Art, but that by
10 fewe men that Arte can bee accomplished. Certainly,
euen our Sauour Christ could as well haue giuen the
morrall common places of vncharitablenes and humblenes
as the diuine narration of *Diuēs* and *Lazarus*; or of
disobedience and mercy, as that heavenly discourse of the
15 lost Child and the gracious Father; but that hys through-
searching wisdom knewe the estate of *Diuēs* burning in
hell, and of *Lazarus* being in *Abrahams* bosome, would
more constantly (as it were) inhabit both the memory and
iudgment. Truly, for my selfe, mee seemes I see before
20 my eyes the lost Childe disdainefull prodigality, turned
to enuie a Swines dinner: which by the learned Diuines
are thought not historicall acts, but instructing Parables.
For conclusion, I say the Philosopher teacheth, but he
teacheth obscurely, so as the learned onely can vnderstande
25 him, that is to say, he teacheth them that are already
taught; but the Poet is the foode for the tenderest stomachs,
the Poet is indeed the right Popular Philosopher, whereof
Æsops tales giue good prooffe: whose pretty Allegories,
stealing vnder the formall tales of Beastes, make many,
30 more beastly then Beasts, begin to heare the sound of
vertue from these dumbe speakers.

*Poetry superior to History, as being more philosophical
and studiously serious.*

But now may it be alledged that, if this imagining of matters be so fitte for the imagination, then must the Historian needs surpasse, who bringeth you images of true matters, such as indeede were doone, and not such as fantastically or falsely may be suggested to haue been 5 doone. Truly, *Aristotle* himselfe, in his discourse of Poesie, plainely determineth this question, saying that Poetry is *Philosophoteron* and *Spoudaioteron*, that is to say, it is more Philosophicall and more studiously serious than history. His reason is, because [Poesie dealeth with 10 *Katholou*, that is to say, with the vniuersall consideration, and the history with *Kathekaston*, the perticuler] 'nowe,' sayth he, 'the vniuersall wayes what is fit to bee sayd or done, eyther in likelihood or necessity, (which the Poesie considereth in his imposed names), and the perticuler 15 onely marks whether *Alcibiades* did, or suffered, this or that.' Thus farre *Aristotle*: which reason of his (as all his) is most full of reason. For indeed, if the question were whether it were better to haue a perticuler acte truly or falsly set downe, there is no doubt which is to be 20 chosen, no more then whether you had rather haue *Vespasians* picture right as hee was, or at the Painters pleasure nothing resembling. [But if the question be for your owne vse and learning, whether it be better to haue it set downe as it should be, or as it was, then certainly 25 is more doctrinable the fained *Cyrus* in *Xenophon* then the true *Cyrus* in *Iustin*, and the fayned *Aeneas* in *Virgũ* then the right *Aeneas* in *Dares Phrygius*] as to a Lady that desired to fashion her countenance to the best grace, a Painter should more benefite her to portraite a most 30 sweet face, wryting *Canidia* vpon it, then to paynt *Canidia* as she was, who, *Horace* sweareth, was foule and ill fauoured.

*The Poet's examples of Virtue and Vice more perfect
than the Historian's.*

If the Poet doe his part a-right, he will shew you in
Tantalus, Atreus, and such like, nothing that is not to
 be shunned; in *Cyrus, Aeneas, Vlysses*, each thing to
 be followed; where the Historian, bound to tell things
 5 as things were, cannot be liberall (without hee will be
 poetically) of a perfect patterne, but, as in *Alexander* or
Scipio himselfe, shew dooings, some to be liked, some
 to be misliked. And then how will you discern what
 to followe but by your owne discretion, which you had
 10 without reading *Quintus Curtius*? And whereas a man
 may say, though in vniuersall consideration of doctrine
 the Poet preuaileth, yet that the historie, in his saying
 such a thing was doone, doth warrant a man more in that
 hee shall follow, the aunswere is manifest, that if hee
 15 stande vpon that was—as if hee should argue, because it
 rayned yesterday, therefore it shoulde rayne to day—then
 indeede it hath some aduantage to a grose conceite; but
 if he know an example onlie informes a coniectured like-
 lihood, and so goe by reason, the Poet dooth so farre
 20 exceede him, as hee is to frame his example to that which
 is most reasonable, be it in warlike, politick, or priuate
 matters, where [the Historian in his bare *Was* hath
 many times that which wee call fortune to ouer-rule
 the best wisdom. Manie times he must tell euent
 25 whereof he can yeelde no cause: or, if hee doe, it must
 be poetically.]

Imaginary examples more instructive than real examples.

For that a fayned example hath asmuch force to teach
 as a true example (for as for to mooue, it is cleere, sith
 the fayned may bee tuned to the highest key of passion),
 30 let vs take one example wherein a Poet and a Historian

doe concur. *Herodotus* and *Iustin* do both testifie that *Zopyrus*, King *Darius* faithfull seruaunt, seeing his Maister long resisted by the rebellious *Babylonians*, fayned himselfe in extreame disgrace of his King: for verifying of which, he caused his own nose and eares to be cut off,⁵ and so flying to the *Babylonians*, was receiued, and for his knowne valour so far credited, that hee did finde meanes to deliuer them ouer to *Darius*. Much like matter doth *Liui* record of *Tarquinius* and his sonne. *Xenophon* excellently faineth such another stratageme¹⁰ performed by *Abradates* in *Cyrus* behalfe. Now would I fayne know, if occasion bee presented vnto you to serue your Prince by such an honest dissimulation, why you doe not as well learne it of *Xenophons* fiction as of the others verity, and truely so much the better, as¹⁵ you shall saue your nose by the bargaine; for *Abradates* did not counterfet so far. [So then the best of the Historian is subiect to the Poet; for whatsoever action, or faction, whatsoever counsell, pollicy, or warre stratagem the Historian is bound to recite, that may the Poet (if²⁰ he list) with his imitation make his own, beautifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting,] as it pleaseth him, hauing all, from *Dante* his heauen to hys hell, vnder the authoritie of his penne. Which if I be asked what Poets haue done so, as I might well name²⁵ some, yet say I, and say againe, I speak of the Arte, and not of the Artificer.

*The reward of Virtue and the punishment of Vice more
clearly shown in Poetry than in History.*

Nowe, to that which commonly is attributed to the prayse of histories, in respect of the notable learning is gotten by marking the successe, as though therein a man should see³⁰ vertue exalted and vice punished, truely that commendation is peculiar to Poetrie, and farre of from History. For

indeede Poetrie euer setteth vertue so out in her best
 cullours, making Fortune her wel-wayting hand-mayd, that
 one must needs be enamored of her. Well may you see
Vlysses in a storme, and in other hard plights; but they
 5 are but exercises of patience and magnanimitie, to make
 them shine the more in the neere-following prosperitie.
 And of the contrarie part, if euill men come to the stage,
 they euer goe out (as the Tragedie Writer answered to
 one that misliked the shew of such persons) so manacled
 10 as they little animate folkes to followe them. But the
 Historian, beeing captiued to the trueth of a foolish world,
 is many times a terror from well dooing, and an encourage-
 ment to vnbrideled wickednes.

Illustrations.

For see wee not valiant *Miltiades* rot in his fetters,
 15 the iust *Phocion* and the accomplished *Socrates* put to
 death like Traytors, the cruell *Seuerus* liue prosperously,
 the excellent *Seuerus* miserably murthered, *Sylla* and
Marius dying in theyr beddes, *Pompey* and *Cicero* slaine
 then when they would haue thought exile a happinesse?
 20 See wee not vertuous *Cato* driuen to kyll himselfe, and
 rebell *Cæsar* so aduaunced that his name yet, after 1600
 yeares, lasteth in the highest honor? And marke but euen
Cæsars own words of the fore-named *Sylla* (who in that
 onely did honestly, to put downe his dishonest tyrannie),
 25 *Literas nesciuit*, as if want of learning caused him to doe
 well. Hee meant it not by Poetrie, which, not content
 with earthly plagues, deuiseth new punishments in hel
 for Tyrants, nor yet by Philosophie, which teacheth *Occi-*
dendos esse; but no doubt by skill in Historie, for that
 30 indeede can afford your *Cypselus*, *Periander*, *Phalaris*,
Dionysius, and I know not how many more of the same
 kennell, that speede well enough in theyr abominable
 vniustice or vsurpation. I conclude, therefore, that hee

excelleth Historie, not onely in furnishing the minde with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that which deserueth to be called and accounted good: which setting forward, and moouing to well dooing, indeed setteth the Lawrell crowne vpon the Poet as victorious, not onely of the Historian, but ouer the Phylosopher, howsoever in teaching it may bee questionable.

For suppose it be granted (that which I suppose with great reason may be denied) that the Philosopher, in respect of his methodical proceeding, doth teach more perfectly then the Poet, yet do I thinke that no man is so much *Philophilosophos* as to compare the Philosopher, in moouing, with the Poet.

Poetry superior to Philosophy as an incentive to virtuous action.

And that moouing is of a higher degree then teaching, it may by this appeare, that it is wel nigh the cause and the effect of teaching. For who will be taught, if hee bee not mooued with desire to be taught, and what so much good doth that teaching bring forth (I speak still of morrall doctrine) as that it mooueth one to doe that which it dooth teach? For, as *Aristotle* sayth, it is not *Gnosis* but *Praxis* must be the fruit. And howe *Praxis* cannot be, without being mooued to practise, it is no hard matter to consider.]

The Philosopher sheweth you the way, hee informeth you of the particularities, as well of the tediousnes of the way, as of the pleasant lodging you shall haue when your journey is ended, as of the many by-turnings that may diuert you from your way. But this is to no man but to him that will read him, and read him with attentive studious painfulnes. Which constant desire, whosoeuer hath in him, hath already past halfe the hardnes of the way, and therefore is beholding to the Philosopher but for the other halfe. Nay truly, learned men haue learnedly thought

that, where once reason hath so much ouer-mastred passion as that the minde hath a free desire to doe well, the inward light each minde hath in it selfe is as good as a Philosophers booke; seeing in nature we know it is wel to doe
5 well, and what is well and what is euill, although not in the words of Arte which Philosophers bestowe vpon vs. For out of naturall conceit the Philosophers drew it; but to be moued to doe that which we know, or to be mooued with desire to knowe, *Hoc opus, hic labor est.*

The attractive form in which Poetry presents moral lessons.

10 Nowe therein of all Sciences (I speak still of humane, and according to the humane conceits) is our Poet the Monarch. For he dooth not only show the way, but giueth so sweete a prospect into the way, as will intice any man to enter into it. Nay, he dooth, as if your
15 iourney should lye through a fayre Vineyard, at the first giue you a cluster of Grapes, that, full of that taste, you may long to passe further. He beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margent with interpretations, and load the memory with doubtfulnessse; but hee
20 commeth to you with words set in delightfull proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well inchaunting skill of Musicke; and with a tale forsooth he commeth vnto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner. And,
25 pretending no more, doth intende the winning of the mind from wickednesse to vertue: euen as the childe is often brought to take most wholsom things by hiding them in such other as haue a pleasant tast: which, if one should beginne to tell them the nature of *Aloes* or *Rubarb* they
30 shoulde receiue, woulde sooner take their Phisicke at their eares then at their mouth. So is it in men (most of which are childish in the best things, till they bee cradled in their

graues) } glad they will be to heare the tales of *Hercules*,
Achilles, *Cyrus*, and *Aeneas*; and, hearing them, must needs
 heare the right description of wisdom, valure, and iustice;
 which, if they had been barely, that is to say Philo-
 sophically, set out, they would sweare they bee brought to
 schoole againe.

That imitation, wherof Poetry is, hath the most con-
 ueniency to Nature of all other, in somuch that, as
Aristotle sayth, those things which in themselues are
 horrible, as cruell battailes, vnnaturall Monsters, are
 made in poetickall imitation delightfull. Truly, I haue
 knowen men, that euen with reading *Amadis de Gaule*
 (which God knoweth wanteth much of a perfect Poesie)
 haue found their harts mooued to the exercise of cour-
 tesie, liberalitie, and especially courage. Who readeth
Aeneas carrying olde *Anchises* on his back, that wisheth
 not it were his fortune to perfourme so excellent an
 acte? Whom doe not the words of *Turnus* mooue,
 the tale of *Turnus* hauing planted his image in the
 imagination?

20

Fugientem haec terra videbit?

Vsque adeone mori miserum est?

Where the Philosophers, as they scorne to delight, so
 must they bee content little to mooue, sauing wrangling
 whether Vertue bee the chiefe or the onely good, whether
 the contemplatiue or the actiue life doe excell: which *Plato*
 and *Boethius* well knew, and therefore made Mistres Philo-
 sophy very often borrow the masking rayment of Poesie.
 For euen those harde harted euill men who thinke vertue
 a schoole name, and knowe no other good but *indulgenti*
genio, and therefore despise the austere admonitions of
 the Philosopher, and feele not the inward reason they
 stand vpon, yet will be content to be delighted, which is
 al the good felow Poet seemeth to promise; and so steale

to see the forme of goodnes (which seene they cannot but loue) ere themselues be aware, as if they tooke a medicine of Cherries.

Two examples of the persuasive power of Poetry.

Infinite proofes of the strange effects of this poetically
5 inuention might be alledged; onely two shall serue, which
are so often remembred, as I thinke all men knowe them;
The one of *Menenius Agrippa*, who, when the whole
people of Rome had resolutely deuided themselues from
the Senate, with apparant shew of vtter ruine, though hee
10 were (for that time) an excellent Oratour, came not among
them vpon trust of figuratiue speeches or cunning insinua-
tions, and much lesse with farre fet *Maximes* of Phylo-
sophie, which (especially if they were *Platonick*) they must
haue learned Geometrie before they could well haue con-
15 ceiued; but forsooth he behaues himselfe like a homely
and familiar Poet. Hee telleth them a tale, that there was
a time when all the parts of the body made a mutinous
conspiracie against the belly, which they thought deuoured
the fruits of each others labour: they concluded they would
20 let so vnprofitable a spender starue. In the end, to be
short, (for the tale is notorious, and as notorious, that it
was a tale) with punishing the belly they plagued them-
selues. This applied by him wrought such effect in the
people, as I neuer read that euer words brought forth but
25 then so suddaine and so good an alteration; for vpon
reasonable conditions a perfect reconcilment ensued.
The other is of *Nathan* the Prophet, who, when the holie
David had so far forsaken God as to confirme adulterie
with murther, when hee was to doe the tenderest office of
30 a friende, in laying his owne shame before his eyes, sent
by God to call againe so chosen a seruant, how doth he
it but by telling of a man whose beloued Lambe was
vngratefullie taken from his bosome, the appycation most

diuinely true, but the discourse it selfe fayned? Which made *Dauid* (I speake of the second and instrumentall cause) as in a glasse to see his own filthines, as that heauenly Psalme of mercie wel testifieth.

X *The various species of Poetry considered separately.*

By these, therefore, examples and reasons, I think it may be manifest that the Poet, with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually then any other Arte dooth: and so a conclusion not vnfitlie ensueth, that, as vertue is the most excellent resting place for all worldlie learning to make his end of, so Poetrie, beeing the most familiar to teach it, and most princelie to moue towards it, in the most excellent work is the most excellent workman. But I am content not onely to decipher him by his workes (although works in commendation or dispraise must euer holde an high authority), but more narrowly will examine his parts: so that (as in a man) though al together may carry a presence ful of maiestie and beautie, perchance in some one defectious peece we may find a blemish. Now in his parts, kindes, or *Species* (as you list to terme them), it is to be noted that some Poesies haue coupled together two or three kindes, as Tragicall and Comicall, wher-vpon is risen the Tragicomicall. Some in the like manner haue mingled Prose and Verse, as *Sannazzaro* and *Boethius*. Some haue mingled matters Heroicall and Pastorall. But that commeth all to one in this question, for, if seuered they be good, the coniunction cannot be hurtfull. Therefore perchance forgetting some, and leauing some as needlesse to be remembred, it shall not be amisse in a worde to cite the speciall kindes, to see what faults may be found in the right vse of them.

*What may be said in favour of (a) Pastoral,
Elegiac, Iambic, and Satiric Poetry.*

Is it then the Pastorall Poem which is misliked? For perchance, where the hedge is lowest they will soonest leape ouer. Is the poore pype disdained, which sometime out of *Melibæus* mouth can shewe the miserie of people; vnder hard Lords or rauening Souldiours, and again, by *Tityrus*, what blessednes is deriued to them that lye lowest from the goodnesse of them that sit highest, sometimes, vnder the prettie tales of Wolues and Sheepe, can include the whole considerations of wrong dooing and patience, sometimes shew that contention for trifles can get but a trifling victorie? Where perchance a man may see that euen *Alexander* and *Darius*, when they straue who should be Cocke of thys worlds dunghill, the benefit they got was that the after-liuers may say,

15 *Haec memini et victum frustra contendere Thirsin :
Ex illo Coridon, Coridon est tempore nobis.*

Or is it the lamenting Elegiack, which in a kinde hart would mooue rather pittie then blame, who bewailes with the great Philosopher *Heraclitus* the weakenes of mankind and the wretchednes of the world: who surely is to be praysed, either for compassionate accompanying iust causes of lamentation, or for rightly paynting out how weake be the passions of wofulnesse? Is it the bitter but wholsome Iambick, which rubs the galled minde, in making shame the trumpet of villanie with bolde and open crying out against naughtines? Or the Satirick, who

Omne vafer vitium ridenti tangit amico ;

who sportingly neuer leaueth vntil hee make a man laugh at folly, and, at length ashamed, to laugh at him-

selfe, which he cannot auoyd, without auoyding the follie;
who, while

circum praecordia ludit,

giueth vs to feele how many head-aches a passionate life
bringeth vs to, how, when all is done, 5

Est Vlbris, animus si nos non deficit aequus?

Of (b) Comedy.

No, perchance it is the Comick, whom naughtie Play-makers and Stage-keepers haue iustly made odious. To the argument of abuse I will answer after. Onely thus much now is to be said, that the Comedy is an imitation¹⁰ of the common errors of our life, which he representeth in the most ridiculous and scornefull sort that may be, so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one. Now, as in Geometry the oblique must¹⁵ bee knowne as wel as the right, and in Arithmetick the¹⁵ odde as well as the euen, so in the actions of our life who seeth not the filthines of euil wanteth a great foile to perceiue the beauty of vertue. This doth the Comedy handle so in our priuate and domestical matters, as with hearing it we get as it were an experience, what is to be²⁰ looked for of a nigardly *Demea*, of a crafty *Damius*, of a flattering *Gnatho*, of a vaine glorious *Thraso*, and not onely to know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such, by the signifying badge giuen them by the Comedian. And little reason hath any man to say that men²⁵ learne euill by seeing it so set out: sith, as I sayd before, there is no man liuing but, by the force trueth hath in nature, no sooner seeth these men play their parts, but wisheth them in *Pistrinum*: although perchance the sack of his owne faults lye so behinde hys back that he seeth not³⁰ himselfe daunce the same measure; whereto yet nothing can more open his eyes then to finde his own actions contemptibly set forth.

Of (c) Tragedy.

So that the right vse of Comedy will (I thinke) by no body be blamed, and much lesse of the high and excellent Tragedy, that openeth the greatest wounds, and sheweth forth the Vlcers that are couered with Tissue; that maketh Kinges feare to be Tyrants, and Tyrants manifest their tirannicall humors; that, with sturring the affects of admiration and commiseration, teacheth the vncertainty of this world, and vpon how weake foundations gilden roofes are builded; that maketh vs knowe,

*Qui sceptrā saeuus duro imperio regit,
Timet timentes, metus in auctorem redit.*

But how much it can mooue, *Plutarch* yeeldeth a notable testimonie of the abhominable Tyrant *Alexander Pheraeus*, from whose eyes a Tragedy, wel made and represented, drewe aboundance of teares, who, without all pittie, had murthered infinite numbers, and some of his owne blood, so as he, that was not ashamed to make matters for Tragedies, yet coulde not resist the sweet violence of a Tragedie. And if it wrought no further good in him, it was that he, in despight of himselfe, withdrewe himselfe from harkening to that which might mollifie his hardened heart.

Of (d) Lyric Poetry.

But it is not the Tragedy they doe mislike. For it were too absurd to cast out so excellent a representation of whatsoeuer is most worthy to be learned. Is it the Liricke that most displeaseth, who with his tuned Lyre, and wel accorded voyce, giueth praise, the reward of vertue, to vertuous acts, who giues morrall precepts, and naturall Problemes, who sometimes rayseth vp his voice to the height of the heauens, in singing the laudes of the immortal

God? Certainly, I must confesse my own barbarousnes, I neuer heard the olde song of *Percy* and *Duglas* that I found not my heart mooued more then with a Trumpet; and yet is it sung but by some blinde Crouder, with no rougher voyce then rude stile; which, being so euill, apparrelled in the dust and cobwebbes of that vnciuill age, what would it worke trymmed in the gorgeous eloquence of *Pindar*? In *Hungary* I haue seene it the manner at all Feasts, and other such meetings, to haue songes of their Auncestours valour; which that right Souldier-like Nation thinck the chiefest kindlers of braue courage. The incomparable *Lacedemonians* did not only carry that kinde of Musicke euer with them to the field, but euen at home, as such songes were made, so were they all content to bee the singers of them, when the lusty men were to tell what they dyd, the olde men what they had done, and the young men what they wold doe. And where a man may say that *Pindar* many times prayseth highly victories of small moment, matters rather of sport then vertue; as it may be aunswered, it was the fault of the Poet, and not of the Poetry; so indeede the chiefe fault was in the tyme and custome of the Greekes, who set those toyes at so high a price that *Phillip* of *Macedon* reckoned a horse-race wonne at *Olympus* among hys three fearefull felicities. But as the vnimitable *Pindar* often did, so is that kinde most capable and most fit to awake the thoughts from the sleep of idlenes, to imbrace honorable enterprises.

Of (e) Epic or Heroic Poetry.

There rests the Heroicall, whose very name (I thinke) should daunt all back-biters; for by what conceit can a tongue be directed to speake euill of that which draweth with it no lesse Champions then *Achilles*, *Cyrus*, *Aeneas*, *Turnus*, *Tydeus*, and *Rinaldo*? Who doth not onely teach

and moue to a truth, but teacheth and mooueth to the most high and excellent truth; who maketh magnanimity and iustice shine throughout all misty fearefulness and foggy desires; who, if the saying of *Plato* and
5 *Tullie* bee true, that who could see Vertue would be wonderfully rauished with the loue of her beauty—this man sets her out to make her more louely in her holyday apparell, to the eye of any that will daine not to disdaine vntill they vnderstand. But if any thing be already sayd
10 in the defence of sweete Poetry, all concurrETH to the maintaining the Heroicall, which is not onely a kinde, but the best and most accomplished kinde of Poetry. ✓
For as the image of each action styrreth and instructeth the mind, so the loftie image of such Worthies most
15 inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informes with counsel how to be worthy. Only let *Aeneas* be worne in the tablet of your memory, how he gouerneth himselfe in the ruine of his Country, in the preseruing his old Father, and carrying away his religious ceremonies, in obeying the Gods commandement to leaue
20 *Dido*, though not onely all passionate kindenes, but euen the humane consideration of vertuous gratefulnes, would haue craued other of him, how in storms, howe in sports, howe in warre, howe in peace, how a fugitiue,
25 how victorious, how besiedged, how besiedging, howe to strangers, howe to allyes, how to enemies, howe to his owne, lastly, how in his inward selfe, and how in his outward gouernment, and I thinke, in a minde not preiudiced with a preiudicating humor, hee will be found
30 in excellencie fruitfull, yea, euen as *Horace* sayth,

Melius Chrysippo et Crantore.

But truly I imagine it falleth out with these Poet-
whippers, as with some good women, who often are sicke,
but in fayth they cannot tel where. So the name of

Poetrie is odious to them, but neither his cause nor effects, neither the sum that contains him nor the particularities descending from him, giue any fast handle to their carping dispraise.

The transcendent excellence of Poetry having been shown positively, the objections of its enemies must be considered.

Sith then Poetrie is of all humane learning the most auncient and of most fatherly antiquitie, as from whence other learnings haue taken theyr beginnings; sith it is so vniuersall that no learned Nation dooth despise it, nor no barbarous Nation is without it; sith both Roman and Greek gaue diuine names vnto it, the one of prophesying, the other of making, and that indeede that name of making is fit for him, considering that (where as other Arts retaine themselues within their subiect, and receiue, as it were, their beeing from it, the Poet onely bringeth his owne stuffe, and dooth not learne a conceite out of a matter, but maketh matter for a conceite) sith neither his description nor his ende contayneth any euill, the thing described cannot be euill; sith his effects be so good as to teach goodnes and to delight the learners; sith therein (namely in morrall doctrine, the chiefe of all knowledges) hee dooth not onely farre passe the Historian, but, for instructing, is well nigh comparable to the Philosopher, and, for mouing, leaues him behind him; sith the holy scripture (wherein there is no vncleannes) hath whole parts in it poetically, and that euen our Sauour Christ vouchsafed to vse the flowers of it; sith all his kindes are not onlie in their vnited formes but in their seuered dissections fully commendable: I think (and think I thinke rightly) the Lawrell crowne appointed for tryumphing Captaines doth worthilie (of al other learnings) honor the Poets tryumph. But because wee haue eares aswell as tongues, and that the lightest reasons

that may be will seeme to weigh greatly, if nothing be put in the counter-balance, let vs heare, and, aswell as wee can, ponder, what obiections may bee made against this Arte, which may be worthy eyther of yeelding or
5 answering.

Many of the objections brought against it so captious and trivial that they are not worth refuting.

First, truely I note not onely in these *Mysomousoi*, Poet-haters, but in all that kinde of people who seek a prayse by dispraysing others, that they doe prodigally spend a great many wandering wordes in quips and
10 scoffes, carping and taunting at each thing, which, by styrring the Spleene, may stay the braine from a through beholding the worthines of the subiect. Those kinde of obiections, as they are full of very idle easines, sith there is nothing of so sacred a maiestie but that an itching
15 tongue may rubbe it selfe vpon it, so deserue they no other answer, but, in steed of laughing at the iest, to laugh at the iester. Wee know a playing wit can prayse the discretion of an Asse, the comfortablenes of being in debt, and the iolly commoditie of beeing sick of the
20 plague. So of the contrary side, if we will turne *Ouids* verse,

Vt lateat virtus proximitate mali,

that good lye hid in neerenesse of the euill, *Agrippa* will be as merry in shewing the vanitie of Science as *Erasmus*
25 was in commending of follie. Neyther shall any man or matter escape some touch of these smyling raylers. But for *Erasmus* and *Agrippa*, they had another foundation then the superficial part would promise. Mary, these other pleasant Fault-finders, who wil correct the Verbe
30 before they vnderstande the Nounes, and confute others knowledge before they confirme theyr owne, I would

haue them onely remember that scoffing commeth not of wisdom. So as the best title in true English they gette with their merriments is to be called good fooles, for so haue our graue Fore-fathers euer termed that humorous kinde of iesters.

5

*Answer to those who object to its employment of
rhyming and versing.*

But that which gyueth greatest scope to their scorning humors is ryming and versing. It is already sayde (and, as I think, trulie sayde) it is not ryming and versing that maketh Poesie. One may bee a Poet without versing, and a versifyer without Poetry. But yet presuppose it were inseparable (as indeede it seemeth *Scaliger* iudgeth) truelie it were an inseparable commendation. For if *Oratio* next to *Ratio*, Speech next to Reason, bee the greatest gyft bestowed vpon mortalitie, that can not be praisesse which dooth most pollish that blessing of speech, which considers each word, not only (as a man may say) by his forcible qualitie but by his best measured quantitie, carrying euen in themselues a Harmonie, without, perchance, Number, Measure, Order, Proportion be in our time growne odious. But lay a side the iust prayse it hath, by beeing the onely fit speech for Musick (Musick I say, the most diuine striker of the sences), thus much is vndoubtedly true, that if reading bee foolish without remembring, memorie being the onely treasurer of knowled[g]e, those words which are fittest for memory are likewise most conuenient for knowledge. Now, that Verse farre exceedeth Prose in the knitting vp of the memory, the reason is manifest; the words (besides theyr delight, which hath a great affinitie to memory) beeing so set as one word cannot be lost but the whole worke failes: which accuseth it selfe, calleth the remembrance backe to it selfe, and so most strongly confirmeth it; besides,

one word so, as it were, begetting another, as, be it in
ryme or measured verse, by the former a man shall
haue a neere gesse to the follower: lastly, euen they
that haue taught the Art of memory haue shewed nothing
5 so apt for it as a certaine roome deuided into many
places well and throughly knowne. Now, that hath the
verse in effect perfectly, euery word hauing his naturall
seate, which seate must needes make the words remem-
bred. But what needeth more in a thing so knowne to
10 all men? Who is it that euer was a scholler that doth
not carry away some verses of *Virgil*, *Horace*, or *Cato*,
which in his youth he learned, and euen to his old age
serue him for howrely lessons? But the fitness it hath
for memory is notably proued by all deliuey of Arts:
15 wherein for the most part, from Grammer to Logick,
Mathematick, Phisick, and the rest, the rules chiefly
necessary to bee borne away are compiled in verses. So
that, verse being in it selfe sweete and orderly, and beeing
best for memory, the onely handle of knowledge, it must
20 be in iest that any man can speake against it.

Four chief objections to Poetry.

Nowe then goe wee to the most important imputations
laid to the poore Poets. For ought I can yet learne, they
are these. First, that there beeing many other more
fruitefull knowledges, a man might better spend his tyme
25 in them then in this. Secondly, that it is the mother of
lyes. Thirdly, that it is the Nurse of abuse, infecting
vs with many pestilent desires, with a Syrens sweetnes
drawing the mind to the Serpents tayle of sinfull fancy,
and heerein, especially, Comedies giue the largest field to
30 erre, as *Chaucer* sayth, howe both in other Nations and in
ours, before Poets did soften vs, we were full of courage,
giuen to martiall exercises, the pillars of manlyke liberty,
and not lulled a sleepe in shady idlenes with Poets

pastimes. And lastly, and chiefly, they cry out with an open mouth, as if they out shot *Robin Hood*, that *Plato* banished them out of hys Common-wealth. Truly, this is much, if there be much truth in it.

Answer to first objection that a man might spend his time in knowledges more profitable than Poetry.

First to the first: that a man might better spend his tyme is a reason indeede: but it doth (as they say) but *Petere principium*: for if it be, as I affirme, that no learning is so good as that which teacheth and mooueth to vertue, and that none can both teach and moue thereto so much as Poetry, then is the conclusion manifest that Incke and Paper cannot be to a more profitable purpose employed. And certainly, though a man should graunt their first assumption, it should followe (me thinkes) very vnwillingly, that good is not good because better is better. But I still and vtterly denye that there is sprong out of earth a more fruitefull knowledge.

Answer to second objection that Poets are liars.

To the second therefore, that they should be the principall lyars, I aunswere paradoxically, but, truly, I thinke truly, that of all Writers vnder the sunne the Poet is the least lier, and, though he would, as a Poet can scarcely be a lyer. The Astronomer, with his cosen the Geometrician, can hardly escape, when they take vpon them to measure the height of the starres. How often, thinke you, doe the Phisitions lye, when they auer things good for sicknesses, which afterwards send *Charon* a great number of soules drownd in a potion before they come to his Ferry? And no lesse of the rest, which take vpon them to affirme. Now, for the Poet, he nothing affirmes, and therefore neuer lyeth. For, as I take it, to

lye is to affirme that to be true which is false. So as the other Artists, and especially the Historian, affirming many things, can, in the cloudy knowledge of mankinde, hardly escape from many lyes. But the Poet (as I sayd before) neuer affirmeth. The Poet neuer maketh any circles
5 about your imagination, to coniure you to beleeeue for true what he writes. Hee citeth not authorities of other Histories, but euen for hys entry calleth the sweete Muses to inspire into him a good inuention ; in troth ~~not~~ labour-
10 ing to tell you what is, or is not, but what should or should not be :] and therefore, though he recount things not true, yet because hee telleth them not for true, he lyeth not, without we will say that *Nathan* lyed in his speech, before alledged, to *David*. Which as a wicked man durst scarce
15 say, so think I none so simple would say that *Æsope* lyed in the tales of his beasts : for who thinks that *Æsope* writ it for actually true were well worthy to haue his name cronicled among the beastes hee writeth of. What childe is there that, comming to a Play, and seeing *Thebes* written
20 in great Letters vpon an olde doore, doth beleeeue that it is *Thebes*? If then a man can ariue, at that childes age, to know that the Poets persons and dooings are but pictures what should be, and not stories what haue beene, they will neuer giue the lye to things not affirmatiuely
25 but allegorically and figuratiuelie written. And therefore, as in Historie, looking for trueth, they goe away full fraught with falshood, so in Poesie, looking for fiction, they shal vse the narration but as an imaginatiue ground-plot of a profitable inuention.

30 But heereto is replied, that the Poets gyue names to men they write of, which argueth a conceite of an actual truth, and so, not being true, prooues a falshood. And doth the Lawyer lye then, when vnder the names of *John a stile* and *John a noakes* hee puts his case? But that is
35 easily answered. Theyr naming of men is but to make

theyr picture the more liuely, and not to builde any historie ; paynting men, they cannot leaue men namelesse. We see we cannot play at Chesse but that wee must giue names to our Chesse-men ; and yet, mee thinks, hee were a very partiall Champion of truth that would say we lyed ; for giuing a peece of wood the reuerend title of a Bishop. The Poet nameth *Cyrus* or *Aeneas* no other way then to shewe what men of theyr fames, fortunes, and estates should doe.

Answer to third objection that Poetry abuses men's wits.

Their third is, how much it abuseth mens wit, trayning it to wanton sinfulness and lustfull loue : for indeed that is the principall, if not the onely abuse I can heare alledged. They say the Comedies rather teach then reprehend amorous conceits. They say the Lirick is larded with passionate Sonnets, the Elegiack weepes the want of his mistresse, and that euen to the Heroical *Cupid* hath ambitiously climed. Alas, Loue, I would thou couldest as well defende thy selfe as thou canst offende others. I would those, on whom thou doost attend, could eyther put thee away, or yeelde good reason why they keepe thee. But grant loue of beautie to be a beastlie fault (although it be very hard, sith onely man, and no beast, hath that gyft to discerne beauty) ; grant that louely name of Loue to deserue all hatefull reproches (although euen some of my Maisters the Phylosophers spent a good deale of theyr Lamp-oyle in setting forth the excellencie of it) ; grant, I say, what soeuer they wil haue granted ; that not onely loue, but lust, but vanitie, but (if they list) scurrilitie, possesseth many leaues of the Poets bookes : yet thinke I, when this is granted, they will finde theyr sentence may with good manners put the last words foremost, and not say that Poetrie abuseth mans wit, but that mans wit abuseth Poetrie.

For I will not denie but that mans wit may make
 Poesie, which should be *Eikastike*, which some learned
 haue defined, figuring foorth good things, to be *Phanta-*
stike, which doth, contrariwise, infect the fancie with
 5 vnworthy obiects, as the Painter, that shoulde giue to
 the eye eyther some excellent perspectiue, or some fine
 picture, fit for building or fortification, or contayning in
 it some notable example, as *Abraham* sacrificing his
 Sonne *Isaack*, *Iudiith* killing *Holofernes*, *Dauid* fighting
 10 with *Goliath*, may leaue those, and please an ill-pleased
 eye with wanton shewes of better hidden matters. But
 what, shall the abuse of a thing make the right vse
 odious? Nay truely, though I yeeld that Poesie may
 not onely be abused, but that beeing abused, by the
 15 reason of his sweete charming force, it can doe more
 hurt then any other Armie of words, yet shall it be so
 far from concluding that the abuse should giue reproch
 to the abused, that contrariwise it is a good reason, that
 whatsoeuer, being abused, dooth most harme, beeing
 20 rightly vsed (and vpon the right vse each thing conceiueth
 his title), doth most good. }

Doe wee not see the skill of Phisick (the best rampire
 to our often-assaulted bodies), beeing abused, teach poyson,
 the most violent destroyer? Dooth not knowledge of
 25 Law, whose end is to euen and right all things, being
 abused, grow the crooked fosterer of horrible iniuries?
 Doth not (to goe to the highest) Gods word abused breed
 heresie, and his Name abused become blasphemie?
 Truely, a needle cannot doe much hurt, and as truely
 30 (with leaue of Ladies be it spoken) it cannot doe much
 good. With a sword thou maist kill thy Father, and
 with a sword thou maist defende thy Prince and Country.
 ! So that, as in their calling Poets the Fathers of lyes they
 say nothing, so in this their argument of abuse they
 35 prooue the commendation.

They alledge heere-with, that before Poets beganne to be in price our Nation hath set their harts delight vpon action, and not vpon imagination, rather doing things worthy to bee written, then writing things fitte to be done. What that before tyme was, I thinke scarcely *Sphinx* can tell, sith no memory is so auncient that hath the precedence of Poetrie. And certaine it is that, in our plainest homelines, yet neuer was the *Albion* Nation without Poetrie. Mary, thys argument, though it bee leaueld against Poetrie, yet is it indeede a chaine-shot against all learning, or bookishnes, as they commonly tearme it. Of such minde were certaine *Gothes*, of whom it is written that, hauing in the spoile of a famous Citie taken a fayre librarie, one hangman, bee like, fitte to execute the fruites of their wits, who had murthered a great number of bodies, would haue set fire on it. 'No,' sayde another very grauely, 'take heede what you doe, for whyle they are busie about these toyes, wee shall with more leysure conquer their Countries.'

This indeede is the ordinary doctrine of ignorance, and many wordes sometymes I haue heard spent in it: but because this reason is generally against all learning, aswell as Poetrie, or rather, all learning but Poetry; because it were too large a digression to handle, or at least too superfluous (sith it is manifest that all gouernment of action is to be gotten by knowledg, and knowledge best by gathering many knowledges, which is reading), I onely, with *Horace*, to him that is of that opinion.

Iubeo stultum esse libenter.

for as for Poetrie it selfe, it is the freest from thys obiection. For Poetrie is the companion of the Campes.

I dare vndertake, *Orlando Furioso*, or honest King *Arthur*, will neuer displease a Souldier: but the quiddity of *Ens* and *Prima materia* will hardely agree with a

Corslet: and therefore, as I said in the beginning, euen Turks and Tartares are delighted with Poets. *Homer*, a Greeke, florished before Greece florished. And if to a slight coniecture a coniecture may be opposed, truly it may seeme, that, as by him their learned men tooke almost their first light of knowledge, so their actiue men receiued their first motions of courage. Onlie *Alexanders* example may serue, who by *Plutarch* is accounted of such vertue, that Fortune was not his guide but his foote-stoole: whose acts speake for him, though *Plutarch* did not; indeede the Phoenix of warlike Princes. This *Alexander* left his Schoolemaister, liuing *Aristotle*, behinde him, but tooke deade *Homer* with him. He put the Philosopher *Callisthenes* to death for his seeming philosophicall, indeed mutinous, stubburnnes, but the chiefe thing he euer was heard to wish for was that *Homer* had been aliue. He well found he receiued more brauerie of minde bye the patterne of *Achilles* then by hearing the definition of Fortitude: and therefore, if *Cato* misliked *Fuluius* for carying *Ennius* with him to the felde, it may be aunswered that, if *Cato* misliked it, the noble *Fuluius* liked it, or els he had not doone it: for it was not the excellent *Cato Vticensis* (whose authority I would much more haue reuerenced), but it was the former, in truth a bitter punisher of faults, but else a man that had neuer wel sacrificed to the Graces. Hee misliked and cryed out vpon all Greeke learning, and yet, being 80 yeeres olde, began to learne it, be-like fearing that *Pluto* vnderstood not Latine. Indeeede, the Romaine lawes allowed no person to be carried to the warres but hee that was in the Souldiers role, and therefore, though *Cato* misliked his vnmustered person, hee misliked not his worke. And if hee had, *Scipio Nasica*, iudged by common consent the best Romaine, loued him. Both the other *Scipio* Brothers, who had by their vertues no lesse sur-

names then of *Asia* and *Affrick*, so loued him that they caused his body to be buried in their Sepulcher. So as *Cato* his authoritie being but against his person, and that aunswered with so farre greater then himselfe, is heerein of no validitie.

*Answer to fourth objection that Plato banished Poets
from his republic.*

But now indeede my burthen is great; now *Plato* his name is layde vpon mee, whom, I must confesse, of all Philosophers I haue euer esteemed most worthy of reuerence, and with great reason, sith of all Philosophers he is the most poetically. Yet if he will defile the Fountaine out of which his flowing streames haue proceeded, let vs boldly examine with what reasons hee did it. First truly, a man might maliciously object that *Plato*, being a Philosopher, was a naturall enimie of Poets: for indeede, after the Philosophers had picked out of the sweete misteries of Poetrie the right discerning true points of knowledge, they forthwith, putting it in method, and making a Schoole-arte of that which the Poets did onely teach by a diuine delightfulness, beginning to spurne at their guides, like vngratefull Prentises, were not content to set vp shops for themselues, but sought by all meanes to discredit their Maisters. Which by the force of delight beeing barred them, the lesse they could ouerthrow them, the more they hated them. For indeede, they found for *Homer* seauen Cities stroue who should haue him for their Citizen; where many Citties banished Philosophers as not fitte members to liue among them. For onely repeating certaine of *Euripides* verses, many *Athenians* had their lyues saued of the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* themselues thought many Philosophers vnworthie to liue. Certaine Poets, as *Simonides* and *Pindarus*, had so preuailed with *Hier* the first, that of a

Tirant they made him a iust King, where *Plato* could do so little with *Dionysius*, that he himselfe of a Philosopher was made a slaue. But who should doe thus, I confesse, should requite the obiections made against Poets with like
5 cauillation against Philosophers, as likewise one should doe that should bid one read *Phædrus* or *Symposium* in *Plato*, or the discourse of loue in *Plutarch*, and see whether any Poet doe authorize abhominable filthines, as they doe. Againe, a man might aske out of what Common-wealth
10 *Plato* did banish them. Insooth, thence where he himselfe alloweth communitie of women. So as belike this banishment grewe not for effeminate wantonnes, sith little should poetically Sonnets be hurtfull when a man might haue what woman he listed. But I honor philosophicall instructions,
15 and blesse the wits which bred them: so as they be not abused, which is likewise stretched to Poetrie.

Plato warned men not against Poetry but against its abuse, just as St. Paul did with respect to Philosophy.

S. Paule himselfe, who yet, for the credite of Poets, alledgeth twise two Poets, and one of them by the name of a Prophet, setteth a watch-word vpon Philosophy, indeede vpon the abuse. So dooth *Plato* vpon the abuse,
20 not vpon Poetrie. *Plato* found fault that the Poets of his time filled the worlde with wrong opinions of the Gods, making light tales of that vnspotted essence, and, therefore, would not haue the youth depraued with such
25 opinions. Heerin may much be said: let this suffice: the Poets did not induce such opinions, but dyd imitate those opinions already induced. For all the Greek stories can well testifie that the very religion of that time stode vpon many, and many-fashioned, Gods, not
30 taught so by the Poets, but followed according to their nature of imitation. Who list may reade in *Plutarch* the discourses of *Isis* and *Osiris*, of the cause why

Oracles ceased, of the diuine prouidence, and see whether the Theologie of that nation stood not vpon such dreames which the Poets indeed superstitiously obserued, and truly (sith they had not the light of Christ) did much better in it then the Philosophers, who, shaking off superstition, brought in Atheisme. *Plato* therefore (whose authoritie I had much rather iustly conster then vniustly resist) meant not in general of Poets, in those words of which *Iulius Scaliger* saith, *Qua autoritate barbari quidam atque hispidi abuti velint ad Poetas e*¹⁰ *republica exigendos*; but only meant to driue out those wrong opinions of the Deitie (whereof now, without further law, Christianity hath taken away all the hurtful beliefe), perchance (as he thought) norished by the then esteemed Poets. And a man need goe no further then¹⁵ to *Plato* himselfe to know his meaning: who, in his Dialogue called *Ion*, giueth high and rightly diuine commendation to Poetrie. So as *Plato*, banishing the abuse, not the thing, not banishing it, but giuing due honor vnto it, shall be our Patron and not our aduersarie.²⁰ For indeed I had much rather (sith truly I may doe it) shew theyr mistaking of *Plato* (vnder whose Lyons skin they would make an Asse-like braying against Poesie) then goe about to ouerthrow his authority, whom, the wiser a man is, the more iust cause he shall find to haue²⁵ in admiration; especially sith he attributeth vnto Poesie more then my selfe doe, namely, to be a very inspiring of a diuine force, farre aboue mans wit, as in the aforementioned Dialogue is apparant.

Many great men have honoured poetry. Illustrations.

Of the other side, who wold shew the honors haue³⁰ been by the best sort of iudgements granted them, a whole Sea of examples woulde present themselues, *Alexanders*, *Cæsars*, *Scipios*, al fauorers of Poets, *Laelius*, called the

Romane *Socrates*, him selfe a Poet, so as part of *Heautontimorumenon* in *Terence* was supposed to be made by him, and euen the Greek *Socrates*, whom *Apollo* confirmed to be the onely wise man, is sayde to haue spent part
5 of his old tyme in putting *Æsops* fables into verses. And therefore, full euill should it become his scholler *Plato* to put such words in his Maisters mouth against Poets. But what need more? *Aristotle* writes the Arte of Poesie: and why, if it should not be written? *Plutarch*
o teacheth the vse to be gathered of them, and how, if they should not be read? And who reades *Plutarchs* eyther historie or philosophy, shall finde hee trymmeth both theyr garments with gards of Poesie. But I list not to defend Poesie with the helpe of her vnderling Historio-
5 graphy. Let it suffice that it is a fit soyle for prayse to dwell vpon; and what dispraise may set vpon it, is eyther easily ouer-come, or transformed into iust commendation. So that, sith the excellencies of it may be so easily and so iustly confirmed, and the low-creeping obiections so
10 soone troden downe; it not being an Art of lyes, but of true doctrine; not of effeminatenes, but of notable stirring of courage; not of abusing mans witte, but of strengthening mans wit; not banished, but honored by *Plato*; let vs rather plant more Laurels for to engarland our Poets
15 heads (which honor of beeing laureat, as besides them onely tryumphant Captaines weare, is a sufficient authority to shewe the price they ought to be had in) then suffer the ill-fauouring breath of such wrong-speakers once to blowe vpon the cleere springs of Poesie.

Why is Poetry not honoured in England as it is elsewhere?

10 But sith I haue runne so long a careere in this matter, me thinks, before I giue my penne a fulle stop, it shalbe but a little more lost time to inquire why England (the Mother of excellent mindes) should bee growne so hard

a step-mother to Poets, who certainly in wit ought to passe all other, sith all onely proceedeth from their wit, being indeede makers of themselues, not takers of others. How can I but exclaime,

Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso, 5

sweete Poesie, that hath aunciently had Kings, Emperors, Senators, great Captaines, such as, besides a thousand others, *Dauid*, *Adrian*, *Sophocles*, *Germanicus*, not onely to fauour Poets, but to be Poets, and of our neerer times can present for her Patrons a *Robert*, king of Sicil,¹⁰ the great king *Francis* of France, King *Iames* of Scotland, such Cardinals as *Bembus* and *Bibiens*, such famous Preachers and Teachers as *Beza* and *Melancthon*, so learned Philosophers as *Fracastorius* and *Scaliger*, so great Orators as *Pontanus* and *Muretus*, so piercing wits¹⁵ as *George Buchanan*, so graue Counsellors as, besides many, but before all, that *Hospitall* of Fraunce, then whom (I thinke) that Realme neuer brought forth a more accomplished iudgement, more firmly builded vpon vertue —I say these, with numbers of others, not onely to read²⁰ others Poesies, but to Poetise for others reading, that Poesie, thus embraced in all other places, should onely finde in our time a hard welcome in England, I thinke the very earth lamenteth it, and therefore decketh our Soyle with fewer Laurels then it was accustomed. For²⁵ heertofore Poets haue in England also florished, and, which is to be noted, euen in those times when the trumpet of *Mars* did sounde loudest. And now that an ouer-faint quietnes should seeme to strew the house for Poets, they are almost in as good reputation as the³⁰ *Mountibancks* at *Venice*. Truly euen that, as of the one side it giueth great praise to Poesie, which like *Venus* (but to better purpose) hath rather be troubled in the net with *Mars* then enioy the homelie quiet of *Vulcan*; so

serues it for a peece of a reason why they are lesse gratefull to idle England, which now can scarce endure the payne of a pen.

*Poetry abandoned to inferior wits who disgrace the
name of poets.*

Vpon this necessarily followeth, that base men with
5 seruile wits vndertake it, who think it inough if they can
be rewarded of the Printer. And so as *Epaminondas* is
sayd, with the honor of his vertue, to haue made an office,
by his exercising it, which before was contemptible, to
become highly respected, so these, no more but setting
10 their names to it, by their owne disgracefulnes disgrace
the most gracefull Poesie. For now, as if all the Muses.
were gotte with childe, to bring foorth bastard Poets,
without any commission they doe poste ouer the banckes
of *Helicon*, tyll they make the readers more weary then
15 Post-horses, while, in the mean tyme, they,

Queis meliore luto finxit praeecordia Titan,

are better content to suppress the out-flowing of their
wit, then, by publishing them, to bee accounted Knights
of the same order.

Or to men who, however studious, are not born poets.

20 But I that, before euer I durst aspire vnto the dignitie,
am admitted into the company of the Paper-blurrers, doe
finde the very true cause of our wanting estimation is want
of desert, taking vpon vs to be Poets in despight of *Pallas*.
Nowe, wherein we want desert were a thanke-worthy
25 labour to expresse: but if I knew, I should haue mended
my selfe. But I, as I neuer desired the title, so haue
I neglected the meanes to come by it. Onely, ouer-
mastred by some thoughts, I yeelded an inckie tribute

vnto them. Mary, they that delight in Poesie it selfe should seeke to knowe what they doe, and how they doe, and, especially, looke themselues in an vnflattering Glasse of reason, if they bee inclinable vnto it. (For Poesie must not be drawne by the eares; it must bee gently led, or ~~rather it must lead.~~) Which was partly the cause that made the auncient-learned affirme it was a diuine gift, and no humaine skill: sith all other knowledges lie ready for any that hath strength of witte; a Poet no industrie can make, if his owne *Genius* bee not carried vnto it; and therefore is it an old Prouerbe, *Orator fit, Poeta nascitur.*

Another cause is the want of serious cultivation of the Poetic Art.

Yet confesse I alwayes that as the firtest ground must bee manured, so must the highest flying wit haue a *Daedalus* to guide him. That *Daedalus*, they say, both in this and in other, hath three wings to beare it selfe vp into the ayre of due commendation: that is, Arte, Imitation, and Exercise. But these, neyther artificiall rules nor imitatieue patternes, we much cumber our selues withall. Exercise indeede wee doe, but that very fore-backwardly: for where we should exercise to know, wee exercise as hauing knowne; and so is oure braine deliuered of much matter which neuer was begotten by knowledge. For, there being two principal parts, matter to be expressed by wordes and words to expresse the matter, in neyther wee vse Arte or Imitation rightly. Our matter is *Quod libet* indeed, though wrongly performing *Ouids* verse

Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat:

neuer marshalling it into an assured rancke, that almost the readers cannot tell where to finde themselues.

*Few good poems produced in England since Chaucer—
These poems specified.*

Chaucer, vndoubtedly, did excellently in hys *Troylus* and *Cresseid*; of whom, truly, I know not whether to meruaile more, either that he in that mistie time could see so clearely, or that wee in this cleare age walke so
5 stumblyngly after him. Yet had he great wants, fitte to be forgiuen in so reuerent antiquity. I account the *Mirroure of Magistrates* meetely furnished of beautiful parts, and in the Earle of Surries *Liricks* many things tasting of a noble birth, and worthy of a noble minde.
10 The *Sheapheards Kalender* hath much Poetrie in his Eglogues, indeede worthy the reading, if I be not deceiued. That same framing of his stile to an old rustick language I dare not alowe, sith neyther *Theocritus* in Greeke, *Virgil* in Latine, nor *Sannazzar* in Italian did
15 affect it. Besides these, doe I not remember to haue seene but fewe (to speake boldly) printed, that haue poetically sinnewes in them: for proofof whereof, let but most of the verses bee put in Prose, and then aske the meaning; and it will be found that one verse did but
20 beget another, without ordering at the first what should be at the last; which becomes a confused masse of words, with a tingling sound of ryme, barely accompanied with reason.

*Degraded state of the drama redeemed only by Gorboduc,
itself a faulty work.*

Our Tragedies and Comedies (not without cause cried
25 out against), obseruing rules neyther of honest ciuillitie nor of skilfull Poetrie, excepting *Gorboduck* (againe, I say, of those that I haue seene), which notwithstanding, as it is full of stately speeches and well sounding Phrases, clymyng to the height of *Seneca* his stile, and as full of

notable moralitie, which it doth most delightfully teach,
 and so obtayne the very end of Poesie, yet in troth it
 is very defectious in the circumstaunces, which greeueth
 mee, because it might not remaine as an exact model of
 all Tragedies. For it is faulty both in place and time, 5
 the two necessary companions of all corporall actions.
 For where the stage should alwaies represent but one
 place, and the vttermost time presupposed in it should
 be, both by *Aristolles* precept and common reason, but
 one day, there is both many dayes, and many places, 10
 inartificially imagined. But if it be so in *Gorboduck*, how
 much more in al the rest, where you shal haue *Asia*
 of the one side, and *Affrick* of the other, and so many
 other vnder-kingdoms, that the Player, when he commeth
 in, must euer begin with telling where he is, or els 15
 the tale wil not be conceiued? Now ye shal haue three
 Ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we must beleue
 the stage to be a Garden. By and by, we heare newes
 of shipwracke in the same place, and then wee are to
 blame if we accept it not for a Rock. Vpon the backe 20
 of that, comes out a hidious Monster, with fire and smoke,
 and then the miserable beholders are bounde to take it
 for a Caue. While in the meantime two Armies flye in,
 represented with foure swords and bucklers, and then
 what harde heart will not receiue it for a pitched field? 25
 Now, of time they are much more liberall, for ordinary
 it is that two young Princes fall in loue. After many
 trauerces, she is got with childe, deliuered of a faire boy;
 he is lost, groweth a man, falls in loue, and is ready to
 get another child; and all this in two hours space: which, 30
 how absurd it is in sence, euen sence may imagine, and *Arte*
 hath taught, and all auncient examples iustified, and, at
 this day, the ordinary Players in Italie wil not erre in.
 Yet wil some bring in an example of *Eunuchus* in *Terence*,
 that containeth matter of two dayes, yet far short of twenty 35

yeeres. True it is, and so was it to be playd in two daies, and so fitted to the time it set forth. And though *Plautus* hath in one place done amisse, let vs hit with him, and not misse with him.

How a tragedy ought to be constructed.

- 5 But they wil say, how then shal we set forth a story, which containeth both many places and many times? And doe they not knowe that a Tragedie is tied to the lawes of Poesie, and not of Historie, not bound to follow the storie, but, hauing liberty, either to faine a quite newe
 10 matter, or to frame the history to the most tragically conueniencie? Againe, many things may be told which cannot be shewed, if they knowe the difference betwixt reporting and representing. As, for example, I may speake (though I am heere) of *Peru*, and in speech
 15 digresse from that to the description of *Calicut*; but in action, I cannot represent it without *Pacolets* horse: and so was the manner the Auncients tooke, by some *Nuncius* to recount thinges done in former time or other place. Lastly, if they wil represent an history, they must not (as
 20 *Horace* saith) beginne *Ab ouo*, but they must come to the principall poynt of that one action which they wil represent. By example this wil be best expressed. I haue a story of young *Polydorus*, deliuered for safeties sake, with great riches, by his Father *Priamus* to *Polymnestor*,
 25 king of *Thrace*, in the Troyan war time. Hee after some yeeres, hearing the ouer-throwe of *Priamus*, for to make the treasure his owne, murthereth the child. The body of the child is taken vp by *Hecuba*. Shee the same day findeth a slight to bee reuenged most cruelly of the Tyrant. Where
 30 nowe would one of our Tragedy writers begin, but with the deliury of the childe? Then should he sayle ouer into *Thrace*, and so spend I know not how many yeeres, and trauaile numbers of places. But where dooth *Euripides*?

Euen with the finding of the body, leauing the rest to be tolde by the spirit of *Polydorus*. This need no further to be enlarged ; the dullest wit may conceiue it.

English Dramas neither right Comedies nor right Tragedies : their defects.

But besides these grosse absurdities, how all they Playes be neither right Tragedies, nor right Comedies, mingling Kings and Clownes, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in Clownes by head and shoulders, to play a part in maiesticall matters, with neither decencie nor discretion, so as neither the admiration and commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their mungrell Tragy-comedie obtained. I know *Appuleius* did somewhat so, but that is a thing recounted with space of time, not represented in one moment : and I knowe the Auncients haue one or two examples of Tragy-comedies, as *Plautus* hath *Amphitruo*. But, if we marke them well, we shall find, that they neuer, or very daintily, match Horn-pypes and Funeralls. So falleth it out that, hauing indeed no right Comedy, in that comicall part of our Tragedy we haue nothing but scurrility, vnwoorthy of any chaste eares, or some extreame shew of doltishnes, indeed fit to lift vp a loude laughter, and nothing els : where the whole tract of a Comedy shoulde be full of delight, as the Tragedy shoulde be still maintained in a well-raised admiration.

English comedy based on a false hypothesis.

But our Comedians thinke there is no delight without laughter ; which is very wrong, for though laughter may come with delight, yet commeth it not of delight, as though delight should be the cause of laughter ; but well may one thing breed both together : nay, rather in themselves they haue, as it were, a kind of contrarietie : for

delight we scarcely doe but in things that haue a conueniencie to our selues or to the generall nature: laughter almost euer commeth of things most disproportioned to our selues and nature. Delight hath a ioy in it, either permanent or present. Laughter hath onely a scornful tickling. For example, we are rauished with delight to see a faire woman, and yet are far from being moued to laughter. We laugh at deformed creatures, wherein certainly we cannot delight. We delight in good chaunces, we laugh at mischaunces; we delight to heare the happines of our friends, or Country, at which he were worthy to be laughed at that would laugh; wee shall, contrarily, laugh sometimes to finde a matter quite mistaken and goe downe the hill agaynst the byas, in the mouth of some such men, as for the respect of them one shalbe hartely sorry, yet he cannot chuse but laugh; and so is rather pained then delighted with laughter. Yet deny I not but that they may goe well together; for as in *Alexanders* picture well set out wee delight without laughter, and in twenty mad Anticks we laugh without delight, so in *Hercules*, painted with his great beard and furious countenance, in womans attire, spinning at *Omphales* commaundement, it breedeth both delight and laughter. For the representing of so strange a power in loue procureth delight: and the scornefulnes of the action stirreth laughter.

Proper aim of Comedy to afford delightful teaching, not coarse amusement.

But I speake to this purpose, that all the end of the comicall part bee not vpon such scornfull matters as stirreth laughter onely, but, mixt with it, that delightful teaching which is the end of Poesie. And the great fault euen in that point of laughter, and forbidden plainly by *Aristotle*, is that they styrr laughter in sinfull things,

which are rather execrable then ridiculous: or in miserable, which are rather to be pittied then scorned. For what is it to make folkes gape at a wretched Begger, or a beggerly Clowne, or, against lawe of hospitality, to iest at straungers, because they speake not English so well, as wee doe? What do we learne, sith it is certaine

*Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit?*

But rather a busy louing Courtier, a hartles threatening *Thraso*, a selfe-wise-seeming schoolemaster, a awry-transformed Traueller—these if wee sawe walke in stage names, which wee play naturally, therein were delightfull laughter, and teaching delightfulness: as in the other the Tragedies of *Buchanan* doe iustly bring forth a diuine admiration. But I haue lauished out too many wordes ¹⁵ of this play matter. (I doe it because, as they are excellent parts of Poesie, so is there none so much vsed in England, and none can be more pittifully abused), which, like an vnmanerly Daughter shewing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesies honesty to bee called in ²⁰ question.

Scantiness and poverty of English lyric poetry.

Other sorts of Poetry almost haue we none, but that Lyricall kind of Songs and Sonnets: which, Lord, if he gaue vs so good mindes, how well it might be employed, and with howe heauenly fruite, both priuate and publike, ²⁵ in singing the prayses of the immortall beauty, the immortall goodnes of that God who gyueth vs hands to write and wits to conceiue; of which we might well want words, but neuer matter; of which we could turne our eies to nothing, but we should euer haue new budding ³⁰ occasions. But truely many of such writings as come vnder the banner of vnresistable loue, if I were a *Mistress*,

would neuer perswade mee they were in loue ; so coldely they apply fiery speeches, as men that had rather red Louers writings, and so caught vp certaine swelling phrases, which hang together like a man which once
5 tolde mee the winde was at North West, and by South, because he would be sure to name windes enowe, then that in truth they feele those passions, which easily (as I think) may be bewrayed by that same forciblenes, or *Energia* (as the Greekes cal it) of the writer. But let
10 this bee a sufficient though short note, that wee misse the right vse of the materiall point of Poesie.

Meretricious Diction in English Prose and Poetry.

Now, for the out-side of it, which is words, or (as I may tearme it) *Diction*, it is euen well worse. So is that honny-flowing Matron Eloquence appparelled, or
15 rather disguised, in a Curtizan-like painted affectation : one time with so farre fette words, they may seeme Monsters, but must seeme straungers to any poore English man ; another tyme, with coursing of a Letter, as if they were bound to followe the method of a Dictionary ;
20 an other tyme, with figures and flowers, extreamelie winter-starued. But I would this fault were only peculier to Versifiers, and had not as large possession among Prose-printers, and (which is to be meruailed) among many Schollers, and (which is to be pittied) among
25 some Preachers. Truly I could wish, if at least I might be so bold to wish in a thing beyond the reach of my capacity, the diligent imitators of *Tullie* and *Demosthenes* (most worthy to be imitated) did not so much keep *Nizolian* Paper-bookes of their figures and phrases, as by
30 attentiu translation (as it were) deuoure them whole, and make them wholly theirs. For nowe they cast Sugar and Spice vpon euery dish that is serued to the table, like those Indians, not content to weare eare-rings at

the fit and naturall place of the eares, but they will thrust Jewels through their nose and lippes, because they will be sure to be fine. *Tullie*, when he was to driue out *Catiline*, as it were with a Thunder-bolt of eloquence, often vsed that figure of repitition, *Viuit. Viuit? Imo in Senatum venit &c.* Indeed, inflamed with a well-grounded rage, hee would haue his words (as it were) double out of his mouth, and so doe that artificially which we see men doe in choller naturally. And wee, hauing noted the grace of those words, hale them in sometime to a¹⁰ famelier Epistle, when it were too much choller to be chollerick.

Now for similitudes, in certaine printed discourses, I thinke all Herbarists, all stories of Beasts, Foules, and Fishes are rifled vp, that they come in multitudes to waite¹⁵ vpon any of our conceits; which certainly is as absurd a surfet to the eares as is possible: for the force of a similitude not being to prooue anything to a contrary Disputer but onely to explaine to a willing hearer, when that is done, the rest is a most tedious pratling, rather ouer-swaying²⁰ the memory from the purpose whereto they were applyed then any whit informing the iudgement, already eyther satisfied, or by similitudes not to be satisfied. For my part, I doe not doubt, when *Antonius* and *Crassus*, the great forefathers of *Cicero* in eloquence, the one (as *Cicero*²⁵ testifieth of them) pretended not to know Arte, the other not to set by it, because with a playne sensiblenes they might win credit of popular eares; which credit is the nearest step to perswasion; which perswasion is the chiefe marke of Oratory;—I doe not doubt (I say) but that they³⁰ vsed these knacks very sparingly, which, who doth generally vse, any man may see doth daunce to his owne musick; and so be noted by the audience more careful to speake curiously then to speake truly.

Vndoubtedly (at least to my opinion vndoubtedly)³⁵

I haue found in diuers smally learned Courtiers a more sounde stile then in some professors of learning : of which I can gesse no other cause, but that the Courtier, following that which by practise hee findeth fittest to nature, therein
5 (though he know it not) doth according to Art, though not by Art : where the other, vsing Art to shew Art, and not to hide Art (as in these cases he should doe), flyeth from nature, and indeede abuseth Art.

*Advantages of the English Language, its complexity
and freedom.*

But what? Me thinkes I deserue to be pounded for
10 straying from Poetrie to Oratorie : but both haue such an affinity in this wordish consideration, that I thinke this digression will make my meaning receiue the fuller vnderstanding : which is not to take vpon me to teach Poets howe they should doe, but onely, finding my selfe
15 sick among the rest, to shewe some one or two spots of the common infection growne among the most part of Writers : that, acknowledging our selues somewhat awry, we may bend to the right use both of matter and manner ; whereto our language gyueth vs great occasion, beeing
20 indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it. I know some will say it is a mingled language. And why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other? Another will say it wanteth Grammer. Nay truly, it hath that prayse, that it wanteth not Grammer : for Grammer
25 it might haue, but it needes it not ; beeing so easie of it selfe, and so voyd of those cumbersome differences of Cases, Genders, Moods, and Tenses, which I thinke was a peece of the Tower of *Babilons* curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue.
30 But for the vttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the minde, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world : and is parti-

culerly happy in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language.

Its adaptability both to ancient and modern systems of versification.

Now, of versifying there are two sorts, the one Auncient, the other Moderne: the Auncient marked the quantitie 5 of each silable, and according to that framed his verse; the Moderne obseruing onely number (with some regarde of the accent), the chiefe life of it standeth in that lyke sounding of the words, which wee call Ryme. Whether of these be the most excellent, would beare many speeches. 10 The Auncient (no doubt) more fit for Musick, both words and tune obseruing quantity, and more fit liuely to expresse diuers passions, by the low and lofty sounde of the well-weyed silable. The latter likewise, with hys Ryme, striketh a certaine musick to the eare: and, in fine, sith 15 it dooth delight, though by another way, it obtaines the same purpose: there beeing in eyther sweetnes, and wanting in neither maiestie. Truely the English, before any other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts: for, for the Ancient, the Italian is so full of Vowels that 20 it must euer be cumbred with *Elisions*; the Dutch so, of the other side, with Consonants, that they cannot yeeld the sweet slyding fit for a Verse; the French, in his whole language, hath not one word that hath his accent in the last silable sauing two, called *Antepenultima*; and 25 little more hath the Spanish: and, therefore, very gracelesly may they vse *Dactiles*. The English is subiect to none of these defects.

Nowe, for the ryme, though wee doe not obserue quantity, yet wee obserue the accent very precisely: 30 which other languages eyther cannot doe or will not doe so absolutely. That *Caesura*, or breathing place in

the middest of the verse, neither Italian nor Spanish haue, the French, and we, neuer almost fayle of. Lastly, euen the very ryme it selfe the Italian cannot put in the last silable, by the French named the Masculine ryme, 5 but still in the next to the last, which the French call the Female, or the next before that, which the Italians terme *Sdrucchiola*. The example of the former is *Buono, Suono*, of the *Sdrucchiola, Femina, Semina*. The French, of the other side, hath both the Male, as *Bon, Son*, and the 10 Female, as *Plaise, Taise*, but the *Sdrucchiola* hee hath not: where the English hath all three, as *Due, True, Father, Rather, Motion, Potion*, with much more which might be sayd, but that I finde already the triflingnes of this discourse is much too much enlarged.

Summary and peroration.

15 So that sith the euer-praise-worthy Poesie is full of vertue-breeding delightfulnes, and voyde of no gyfte that ought to be in the noble name of learning: sith the blames laid against it are either false or feeble; sith the cause why it is not esteemed in Englande is the fault of Poet-apes, 20 not Poets; sith, lastly, our tongue is most fit to honor Poesie, and to bee honored by Poesie; I coniure you all that haue had the euill lucke to reade this incke-wasting toy of mine, euen in the name of the nyne Muses, no more to scorne the sacred misteries of Poesie, no more 25 to laugh at the name of Poets, as though they were next inheritous to Fooles, no more to iest at the reuerent title of a Rymer; but to beleeeue, with *Aristotle*, that they were the auncient Treasurers of the Græcians Diuinity; to beleeeue, with *Bembus*, that they were first bringers 30 in of all ciuilitie; to beleeeue, with *Scaliger*, that no Philosophers precepts can sooner make you an honest man then the reading of *Virgil*; to beleeeue, with *Clauserus*, the Translator of *Cornutus*, that it pleased the heavenly

Deitie, by *Hesiod* and *Homer*, vnder the vayle of fables, to giue vs all knowledge, Logick, Rethorick, Philosophy, naturall and morall, and *Quid non*; to beleeeue, with me, that there are many misteries contained in Poetrie, which of purpose were written darkely, leas by prophane 5 wits it should bee abused; to beleeeue, with *Landin*, that they are so beloued of the Gods that whatsoever they write proceeds of a diuine fury; lastly, to beleeeue themselues, when they tell you they will make you immortal by their verses. 10

Thus doing, your name shal florish in the Printers shoppes; thus doing, you shall bee of kinne to many a poetickall Preface; thus doing, you shall be most fayre, most rich, most wise, most all; you shall dwell vpon Superlatiues. Thus dooing, though you be *Libertino patre* 15 *natus*, you shall suddenly grow *Herculea proles*,

Si quid mea carmina possunt.

Thus doing, your soule shal be placed with *Dantes Beatrix*, or *Virgils Anchises*. But if (fie of such a but) you be borne so neere the dull making *Cataphract* of 20 *Nilus* that you cannot heare the Plannet-like Musick of Poetrie, if you haue so earth-creeping a mind that it cannot lift it selfe vp to looke to the sky of Poetry, or rather, by a certaine rustickall disdaine, will become such a Mome as to be a *Momus* of Poetry; then, though 25 I will not wish vnto you the Asses eares of *Midas*, nor to bee driuen by a Poets verses (as *Bubonax* was) to hang himselfe, nor to be rimed to death, as is sayd to be doone in Ireland; yet thus much curse I must send you, in the behalfe of all Poets, that while you liue, you liue in loue, 30 and neuer get fauour for lacking skill of a *Sonnet*, and, when you die, your memory die from the earth for want of an *Epitaph*.

NOTES

Page 1. 2. *Edward Wotton*, described by the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza as 'a man of great learning and knowledge of languages', and Sidney, were associated as secretaries to the Embassy at the court of the Emperor Maximilian II in Vienna in 1574-5. Edward Wotton's half-brother was the celebrated ambassador and poet, Sir Henry Wotton.

5. *Esquire*, equerry.

11. *laden*. This is the common form of the participle in Milton, e. g. *P. L.* iv. 147.

Goodliest trees *laden* with fairest fruit.

17. *strong abiders*, possessed of powers of endurance; or perhaps the word expresses the same meaning as Milton's 'firm and unmoved with dread of death to flight or foul retreat' (*P. L.* l. 555).

21. *Pedanteria*, vain display of useless knowledge such as was supposed to be characteristic of a *pedante* or schoolmaster. The Italian form of the word shows that it was not yet completely naturalized in English.

25. *a peece of a Logician*. As he was 'a bit' of a logician, he could see through Pugliano's fallacies.

29. *gorgeous*, splendid. This tendency is described by Buckle as 'a general law of the mind by which those who have any favourite profession are apt to exaggerate its capacity'. It is the foundation of the 'peccant humour' of learning illustrated by Bacon in the *Advancement*, I, v. 7, and is a special application of the proverb that 'every one's own goose is a swan'.

Page 2. 1. *Pugliano his*. This old periphrastic possessive became popular in the Elizabethan age owing to the mistaken idea that the possessive suffix 's' was a contraction of 'his'.

6. *unelected*, because he had not deliberately chosen the poetical profession, but, as said above, slipt into it by mischance. Compare p. 49, l. 13.

9. *The steppes of his Maister*. If his defence of his profession were conducted with more good will than good arguments, he would be following the example of his teacher, Pugliano.

10. *pittiful*, compassionate.

14. *sith*, since. 'Since' (ME. *sithenes*) is derived from *sith* followed by the dative of the demonstrative (ME. *than* or *then*) and the adverbial suffix *ce*.

the former, horsemanship.

15. *the silly latter*, poetry. 'Silly' expresses compassion, as 'poore' does in l. 11.

16. *Philosophers*. See p. 38, l. 3.

25. *Hedghog*. The fable referred to is thus given by Sir Roger L'Estrange in his *Fables of Aesop and other eminent Mythologists*, ed. 1708, p. 337. 'A snake was prevailed upon in a cold winter to take a hedgehog into his cell; but, when he was once in, the place was so narrow that the prickles of the hedgehog were very troublesome to his companion, so that the snake told him he must needs provide for himself somewhere else, for the hole was not big enough to hold them both. "Why then," says the hedgehog, "he that cannot stay shall do well to go, but for my own part I am e'en contented as I am and, if you be not so too, you are free to remove."' It is translated from the *Hecatomythium* of Laurentio Astemio, who flourished at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century and was the librarian of the Duke of Urbino. It appears to have been invented by him: there were two editions of his Collection, one in 1495 and one in 1499, in one of which Sidney must have found it.

27. *kill their Parents*, as related in Pliny's *Natural History*, x. 82. Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, Bk. III, ch. xvi, remarks that this superstition, 'entertained in the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, and affirmed by Herodotus, Nicander, Pliny, Plutarch, Aelian, Jerome, Basil, Isidore, seems countenanced by Aristotle and his scholar Theophrastus'. The Elizabethan writers are very fond of referring to it.

29. *Musaeus*, a legendary Greek poet, supposed to have

lived before the Homeric age and to have been a pupil of Orpheus. In the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas finds him together with Orpheus in the Elysian fields.

Hesiodus is said to have lived in Boeotia about a hundred years after Homer. His chief work, called *Works and Days*, combines agricultural with moral and religious precepts, and was the model followed by Virgil when he wrote his *Georgics*. See *Georgics*, ii. 176.

Page 3. 3. *skil* here means either art, or, perhaps, class of artists, as when Puttenham in his *Art of English Poesie* says that 'Martial was the chief of this skill among the Latins'.

Orpheus. The story of Orpheus and Eurydice is beautifully told in *Georgics*, iv. 454-527, and alluded to in *Il Penseroso*, 105, *L'Allegro*, 145. Many religious poems called 'Orphic' were attributed to him by the ancient Greeks.

Linus, another legendary Greek poet, was a personification of the Linus song, a choric song mentioned in the *Iliad*, xviii. 569.

10. *Amphion* was the husband of Niobe. As he played on the lyre given him by Hermes, the stones arranged themselves in order so as to form the walls of Thebes.

12. *beastes, indeed stony and beastly people*. The meaning is that the beasts and stones said to have been charmed by the music of Orpheus and Amphion were really savage human beings. A similar interpretation of the myth is given in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, I. vii. 2. The magical power of the music of Orpheus is the subject of the song sung in the beginning of the third Act of *Henry VIII*:—

Orpheus with his lute made trees
And the mountain tops that freeze
Bow themselves when he did sing.

13. *beastly*, beastlike, i. e. uncivilized merely.

Linus Andronicus, a Greek slave who translated the *Odyssey* and some Greek tragedies into Latin in the middle of the third century B. c.

14. *Ennius* (b. 239, d. 169 B. c.), born a Greek, eventually obtained Roman citizenship. He wrote the history of Rome in a poem in hexameter verse called the *Annales*, on account of which he was regarded as the father of Epic poetry in Rome.

15. *Science*, knowledge.

✓ 16. *Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch* founded modern Italian Literature at the time of the Renaissance. *Boccace* (1313-75) is the French form of the name of Boccaccio. His best known work, the *Decameron*, was written in prose, but that would not prevent Sidney from regarding it as a poem. For he, like Aristotle, Milton, Shelley, and Coleridge, did not regard verse as essential to poetry. See p. 12, ll. 3-6. Boccaccio also wrote metrical poems in Latin and Modern Italian, some of which are partly imitated and partly translated by Chaucer and Lydgate.

Petrarch (1306-74) was famous for his sonnets, particularly those addressed to Laura.

17. *Gower* was a contemporary of Chaucer, who calls him the 'Moral Gower'. He wrote the *Speculum Meditantis* in French, the *Vox Clamantis* in Latin, and the *Confessio Amantis* in English.

18. *fore-going*, lead, example.

22. *durst not*, &c. The early Greek philosophers published their theories in poems.

23. *Thales*, of Miletus (640-546 B.C.), was regarded as the first of the Seven Wise Men of Greece. A metrical work on astronomy was attributed to him. He taught that the universe originated in Water.

Empedocles was born at Agrigentum in Sicily about 490 B. C. The popular legend about his death is given in *P.L.* iii. 470, where we read of him,

Who, to be deem'd
A God, leap'd fondly into Aetna flames,
Empedocles.

He expounded his philosophy in hexameters. In Aristotle's *Poetics* it is asserted that he resembled Homer only in his metre and ought to be called a physiologist rather than a poet. His poetic gifts are, however, recognized by Aristotle in another passage and by modern literary critics. Lucretius pays him an eloquent tribute in his great poem (i. 727).

Parmenides, an eminent philosopher of the Eleatic School who flourished about 503 B. C., wrote a philosophical poem *On Nature* in hexameters.

24. *in verses*. This looks as if Sidney regarded metre as the 'describing note' or distinguishing characteristic of poetry,

which he denies below on p. 12, l. 13. Therefore, in l. 27, he puts the fact in a different way, which is more consistent with his theory of the true essence of poetry.

25. *Pythagoras*, of Samos, lived in the middle of the sixth century B.C. He is best known for his doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which he is believed to have learnt from the Egyptians.

Phocylides, of Miletus, was a contemporary of Pythagoras. He wrote didactic verses, only a few of which have survived.

26. *Tyrtaeus* (fl. 660 B.C.), famous for his war lyrics. It is related that when the Spartans, as advised by the Delphic oracle, asked the help of the Athenians in the Messenian war, the Athenians sent them Tyrtaeus, a lame schoolmaster, whose poems inspired them with such valour that they overcame their enemies.

Solon, the Athenian legislator, born about 638 B.C., was counted among the Seven Wise Men. Several of his political poems are still in existence. In an unfinished epic, which is lost, he told the 'notable fable of the Atlantick Iland', which he had learnt from the priests in Egypt. This island was supposed to have been situated somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean.

31. *continued by Plato*. Both in the *Timaeus* (p. 25) and in the *Critias* (p. 113 to the end) Plato gives an account of Atlantis.

32. *Plato . . . in the body of his work*, in the body of Plato's work. Compare p. 2, l. 1. Plato is of course the accusative case governed by *considereth*.

Page 4. 3. *faineth*. Here fiction is regarded as of the essence of poetry. Bacon, who held the same opinion, says that poetry is 'nothing else but feigned history, which may be styled as well in prose as in verse': *Advancement of Learning*, II, iv. 1.

6. *besides*, in addition to, not to mention. Here we have a second fact showing that the beauty of the Platonic dialogues 'depended most of poetry'. The early editions put a full-stop before 'besides', which would make 'besides' an adverb and 'describing' a nominative without a verb.

8. *Gyges Ring*. For the story of the Ring of Gyges see Plato's *Republic*, 359. Gyges found a ring which made him invisible, and by its help made himself king of Lydia.

10. *did neuer walke into Apollos Garden*, never knew anything about poetry. Apollo was the patron god of poetry.

14. *weight*, importance, influence, authority.

17. *passionale*, moving.

19. *Orationes*. Many such imaginary speeches may be found in ancient histories, especially in Thucydides and Livy.

29. *theyr Poets*. Sidney may have heard of them from his friend Spenser, who went to Ireland in 1580, and gives an account of the Irish bards in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*.

Page 5. 3. *Areytos* must be the plural of *areito*, which, in the *Gran Diccionario* of Aniceto de Pages, is said to be a word of Indian origin meaning 'A popular song of the ancient Indians of the Antilles and of Central America'.

12. *Bardes* such as Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, Taliesin, and Myrddin.

14. *some of whom*, as for instance, Edward I, if we may believe the story on which Gray's *Bard* is founded.

24. *his conioyned wordes*, the words etymologically connected with it. 'His' is here the neuter possessive.

29. *Whereupon grew*, whence arose.

30. *worde*, phrase.

Sortes Virgilianae. If you wish to consult the *Sortes Virgilianae*, or oracle of Virgil, you open his works at random and the lines you read reveal your destiny. When Charles I was at Oxford, he went to the Bodleian and consulted the *Sortes* in the old copy of Virgil preserved there. He opened the book at *Aeneid*, iv. 615-20. Falkland, noticing the painful impression produced by these lines, tried to cheer the King's spirits by consulting the oracle, in which he hoped to hit upon lines ludicrously inappropriate. Unfortunately, the passage he found was that in which Aeneas laments the death of young Pallas by an untimely doom (*Aeneid*, xi. 42-58) such as Falkland was himself to meet soon after on the field of Newbury.

Page 6. 1. *Albinus*, governor of Britain in 192. When he madly, without reason, took up arms against Septimius Severus, he was defeated and slain in battle, near Lyons.

3. *Arma*, &c. (*Aeneid*, ii. 314), I madly take up arms, nor have I enough reason in taking up arms.

4. *performed it*, fulfilled the prophecy.

10. *Sibyllas prophecies*. The Cumaean Sibyl sold her prophetic books to Tarquin the Proud. According to Virgil she conducted Aeneas to the lower world.

12. *high flying*, a metaphor from falconry. Compare *Julius Caesar*, 1. i. 72:

These growing feathers pluck'd from Caesar's wing
Will make him fly an ordinary flight.

16. *the reasonableness of this worde Vates*, the reasonableness of calling a poet a *vates*, that is, a prophet.

21. *that it is fully written in meeter, and his handling his prophecy*, are both subjects of *will speake for me*, understood from the previous sentence.

23. *his handling his prophecy*, the style in which he treats his prophecy.

24. *meerely*, entirely.

25. *awaking his musicall instruments*. See Psalm lvii. 8.

26. *changing of persons*, as in Psalm xxiv. 8-10.

Prosopopeias. This is a figure of speech by which inanimate objects are spoken of as if they were animate, as in Psalm cxiv. As the Greek word is *προσωποποιία*, the proper spelling would be *prosopopoeia*.

30. *everlasting beautie*. Plato's divine love.

Page 7. 13. *haue mette with*, agree with.

14. *maker*. An instance of this use of the term is quoted in N.E.D. from a book written as early as the end of the fourteenth century. Langland and Chaucer use the verb *make* in the corresponding sense. So does Spenser in his *Shepheardes Calender*, iv. 19:

And hath he skill to make so excellent,
Yet hath so little skill to brydle love?

16. *partiall* for the reason given on p. 1.

24. *what order Nature hath taken therein*=take measures.

Cf. *Othello*, v. ii. 72: Honest Iago hath ta'en order for it.

29. *standeth vpon*, is concerned with.

30. *followe Nature*. This was the fundamental moral precept of the Stoics.

therein, in virtues, vices, and passions.

Page 8. 5. *compassed, &c.*, confined to questions included in the subject-matter of the science.

8. *the Metaphisick*, the Metaphysician.

9. *seconde and abstract notions*. 'A first notion', says Sir William Hamilton, 'is a concept of a thing as it exists of itself and independent of any operation of thought, as man, John, animal, &c. A second notion is a concept not of an object as it exists in reality, but of the mode under which it is thought by the mind, as individual, species, genus, &c.'

20. *Zodiack*. The Zodiac is the apparent course of the sun through the heavens.

25. *deliver*, put forth, bring forth, describe.

26. *for whom, &c.* As all things were created for the use of man (Genesis i. 28, 29), we may infer that man was Nature's masterpiece.

29. *Theagenes*. The love story of Theagenes and Chariclea is told in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus, a romance writer who lived in the fourth century and became Bishop of Tricca in Thessaly.

30. *Pylades*, whose friendship for Orestes is represented in the *Electra* of Sophocles and other Greek tragedies.

Orlando, the hero of Ariosto's poem, *Orlando Furioso*.

31. *Xenophons Cyrus*, Cyrus, the younger, who rebelled against his brother Artaxerxes and was defeated and slain at Cunaxa in 401 B.C. An imaginative eulogy of his virtues is given by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*.

32. *iestingly conceived*, regarded as a jest.

Page 9. 3. *fore-conceite*, the idea that the artist means to embody in his work.

12. *that Maker*, that poet, Xenophon.

16. *that maker*, the human creative artist.

18. *second nature*. See Genesis i. 28-31. Man is the first nature, and the rest of creation placed under his dominion is the second nature. Thus the human artist is not opposed to, but a part of nature, for Sidney would say of Poetry, as Shakespeare (*Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 95) says of horticulture :

This is an art

Which does mend nature, change it rather, but

The art itself is nature.

22. *erected wit.* Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 'the flame of most erected spirits.'

27. *the name*, of poet or maker.

28. *opening of him*, exposition of his nature.

Page 10. 2. *Mimesis.* The reference is to Aristotle's famous definition of poetry in the first chapter of the *Poetics*: 'Epic poetry, Tragedy and Comedy, the Dithyramb, . . . are all to speak generally *μιμήσεις*,' that is 'imitations'; but the Greek word has a more extended meaning, and would be better translated as 'representations'.

10. *Moses.* See Exodus xv.

Deborah. See Judges v.

11. *Emanuel Tremellius*, an Italian Jew, taught Hebrew at Cambridge in the reign of Edward VI. He was assisted by Franciscus Junius in making his Latin translation of the Bible.

16. *his hymnes.* The principal Homeric hymns were poems addressed to Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, and Demeter. They are not attributed by modern scholars to the author or authors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

18. *James his counsell.* See note on p. 2, l. 1.

singing Psalmes. See the General Epistle of James v. 13.

24. *Tyrtaeus, Phocylides.* See p. 3, ll. 25, 26.

25. *Cato*, Dionysius Cato, the name given to the author of an ethical treatise written in Latin verse, called *Distichs*, which was very popular in the Middle Ages, and is often quoted in *Piers Plowman*.

Lucretius (95-52 B. C.) expounded the Epicurean philosophy in his poem entitled *De Rerum Natura*. Tennyson gives an account of his philosophy and his tragic end in his *Lucretius*.

Virgils Georgicks. See note on p. 2, l. 29.

26. *Mamilius* lived in the days of Augustus and wrote a poem called *Astronomica*.

Pontanus, Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503), celebrated as the best Latin poet of the age in which he lived. His principal work is a didactic poem on the stars entitled *Urania*.

27. *Lucan*, who flourished in the reign of Nero, in his *Pharsalia* gave a poetical account of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

30. *wrapped within the folde of* (=Lat. *implicitus*), confined by the subject so that they cannot invent anything.

Page 11. 1. *his*. We should expect a plural pronoun here, as in the following clause, referring to 'thys second sorte' regarded as a noun of multitude. Such irregularities of syntax are common in Sidney.

2. *right Poets*. This seems to imply that the Psalms of David, the Song of Deborah, and the Homeric Hymns were not, after all, poems in the strictest sense of the word.

8. *constant*, resolute. Lucretia punished in herself the crime of Sextus Tarquinius.

16. *These*, the third sort, consisting of 'right poets'.

20. *meerely make*, they are entirely creative, they employ the creative power of their imagination and do not deal with facts. 'To imitate,' 'to delight and teach,' 'to move,' and 'to make', are all infinitives of purpose expressing the immediate and more remote objects which poets aim at.

25. *scope*, from a Greek word meaning the distant object on which the eye is fixed.

29. *Iambick*. This term is applied to violent personal invective such as Archilochus wrote in the iambic metre. See Aristotle's *Poetics*, V. iii.

Page 12. 2. *numbrous*, meaning 'metrical', is the adjective of 'numbers', as used by Pope when he says 'I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came'.

3. *no cause to Poetry*, not essential to poetry.

8. *effigiem iusti imperii*, an image of just empire. See p. 8, l. 31. Some of the most famous passages in De Quincey's *Opium Eater*, and Ruskin's works may be referred to as modern instances of poetry written in prose. Sidney himself is called by Cowper a 'warbler of poetic prose'.

10. *Heliodorus*. See note on p. 8, l. 29.

18. *describing note*, the distinguishing characteristic or differentia of poetry.

24. *peysing*, weighing. The poet employs words 'cull'd with choicest art'.

27. *his* is neuter, as in p. 11, l. 1.

28. *Anatomies*, analyses.

30. *This purifying of wit, this enrichting of memory*, &c., are nominatives left absolute owing to change of construction.

31. *enabling of judgment*, affording the capacity of forming correct conclusions.

conceyt, the power of forming ideas.

Page 13. 2. *the final end*, the ultimate object (of this purifying of wit, &c.). The final end is that which is not regarded as the means to any further end, but is desirable in itself.

3. *made worse by their clayey lodgings*. For the idea of the soul suffering from association with the body, compare the *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 63 ;

Such harmony is in immortal souls ;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

5. *many formed*, multiform, various.

10. *knewe the causes of things*. Compare *Georgics*, ii. 490-2:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.

(Happy he who was able to know the causes of things and who cast beneath his feet all fears and inexorable fate and the din of greedy Acheron.)

13. *hauing this scope*, aiming at knowledge and the elevation of the mind by knowledge. See note on p. 11, l. 25.

15. *dungeon of the body*. Plato looked upon the body as the prison of the soul. So Wordsworth, *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*:

Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy.

his, the mind's.

16. *But when*. Notice the enormous length and complicated syntax of this sentence, which goes on to the end of the paragraph.

21. *prooffe*, experience.

22. *seruing*, subordinate.

25. *Architectonike* (Gr. *archi*, chief, and *tekton*, builder), the supreme knowledge to which all others are subordinate.

28. *next end*, nearest, immediate object.

30. *so the horsemans*, and in like manner the horseman's farther end is the promotion of military ability.

33. *ending end*, the ultimate end. This whole passage is based on the argument in the beginning of Aristotle's *Ethics*, where, speaking of the end or τέλος, he says the end consists sometimes in the exercise of a faculty for its own sake, at other times in certain external results beyond this. Thus bridle-making is designed in the interests of horsemanship, horsemanship in the interests of war, and war in the interests of Politics.

Page 14. 1. *if wee can shewe*. This conditional clause is left without a consequent.

4. *me thinketh*, it seems to me. 'Thinketh' so used comes from an OE. word meaning 'seem', connected with but different from the word from which 'think' in its commoner use is derived.

6. *rudely clothed*. The Stoics and Cynics wore coarse clothes as a protest against the luxury of ordinary men, some of them wearing the same single garment in winter and in summer.

11. *casting larges*, pouring out a liberal supply. The metaphor is taken from the practice of chivalry. In Scott's description of the tournament at Ashby we read that 'the heralds finished their proclamation with their usual cry of "Largesse, largesse, gallant knights!", and gold and silver pieces were showered on them from the galleries, it being a high point of chivalry to exhibit liberality towards those whom the age accounted at once the secretaries and the historians of honour'.

16. *his*, its, virtue's.

19. *the generalities*, &c., the genus and species of virtue. For 'contayneth' with a plural nominative see Abbott's *Shakespearean Grammar*, 334.

25. *but that he . . . denieth in a great chafe*, without in a great state of excitement denying. 'He' is the subject of 'denieth' ten lines below.

28. *notable*, ironical for 'worthless'.

Page 15. 1. *partiality*, the favour shown by historians to those statesmen whose policy they approve of.

6. *great chafe*, great state of excitement and indignation. Here Sidney is imitating Plato's account of the violence with

which Thrasyarchus entered into the discussion in the first book of the *Republic*.

8. *Lux vitae*, &c. Evidently a very muddled reminiscence of what Antonius in Cicero's *De Oratore*, II. ix. 36, calls history: 'Testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis.'

10. *disputative virtue*, knowledge of virtue such as may be manifested in philosophical controversy.

11. *Academie*, the garden near Athens in which Plato taught. It was sacred to an Athenian hero called Academus.

16. *Olde-aged experience*, experience of old men.

18. *put the learners hands to the Lute*, induce the learner to do acts of virtue, only the *knowledge* of which is given by philosophy.

19. *the light*. History gives the light by affording examples of virtuous action.

21. *conferring storie by storie*, collecting many stories in succession. The editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave and later editions read 'confirming' for 'conferring'.

23. *Brutus* was incited to kill Caesar by the historical example of his ancestor who expelled the Tarquins.

Alphonsus of Aragon. Alphonsus V of Aragon (1416-58). He was surnamed the wise, and was a great patron of learned men.

24. *maketh a poynt*, comes to a conclusion.

28. *the highest forme*, the first rank. The classes in schools are called forms from the forms or benches on which they sit.

29. *Moderator*, president to decide the question or see that it is rightly decided.

30. *the title*, of 'highest form in the school of learning'.

Page 16. 3. *Diuine*, sc. skill, theology.

9. *Formidine poenae*. Horace, *Epistles*, I. xvi. 52:

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;

Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae.

(Good men hate to sin on account of their love of virtue; it is fear of punishment that prevents you from doing wrong.)

12. *hee* should be plural, as it refers to 'men'.

16. *naughtines*, wickedness, as in the Bible, e. g. Epistle General of James i. 21.

18. *manners*, character.

25. *mistie to bee conceived*, difficult to understand.

Page 17. 18. *or of a gorgeous Pallace*, &c., or he who should tell a man the architecture of a gorgeous palace with a full description of its beauties.

The editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave read 'an architecture', which is changed into 'in architecture' in the edition of 1674, and into 'an architect' in that of 1724.

Page 18. 3. *Anchises*. See *Aeneid*, ii. 637-49.

4. *Vlysses*. See *Odyssey*, v. 151-8. Calypso detained him in her island and offered to make him immortal if he would stay with her; but he sat sadly on the sea shore yearning once more to see the smoke rising from his dear fatherland.

6. *Ithaca*, the rocky island of which Ulysses was king.

7. *short madnes*. See Horace, *Epistles*, I. ii. 62, where we are told that 'ira furor brevis est' (anger is a short madness).

Sophocles. In the *Ajax* of Sophocles we are told how Ajax went mad with anger because he was not awarded the arms of Achilles. But Sophocles does not 'bring Ajax on a stage, killing and whipping Sheepe and Oxen.'

12. *Genus and difference*. In Logic genus is the class to which any species belongs and the difference is the attribute which distinguishes any species from other species belonging to the same genus. Thus, if 'anger' is defined as a 'short madness', 'madness' is its genus and 'short' its difference.

13. *Vlysses* shows his temperance in the tenth book of the *Odyssey* by refusing to drink the cup of Circe. See Horace, *Epistles*, I. ii. 24-6.

Diomedes is perhaps regarded as a type of temperance because he did not return the love of Lycus' daughter, Callirrhoe, who saved his life and released him from prison.

14. *Nisus and Euryalus*. Their friendship and death is the subject of a famous episode in the ninth book of the *Aeneid*.

15. *carry not an apparent shyning*, are not vividly portrayed.

16. *Oedipus*, when he discovered that he had killed his father and married his mother, in the agony of remorse tore out his eyes. The story is told in the dramas of Sophocles and Seneca.

17. *Agamemnon* showed his pride in the *Iliad* by taking

Briseis from Achilles. When Achilles would not fight and the Greeks were defeated by the Trojans, he repented of his pride and gave her back.

self-devouring cruelty. Atreus showed his cruelty first by contriving that Thyestes should eat his own children and afterwards by sending Aegisthus to kill him. But Aegisthus, discovering that Thyestes was his father, killed Atreus. His cruelty is called self-devouring either because it led to his death at the hands of Aegisthus, or because he was consumed by it, as Pericles was 'in sorrow all devoured' (*Pericles*, iv. iv. 25). Similarly Iago describes Othello as 'eaten up with passion' (*Othello*, III. iii. 391).

19. *two Theban brothers*, Eteocles and Polynices, the two sons of Oedipus, ambitiously contended for the crown of Thebes and killed each other.

sour-sweetness, an oxymoron or apparent contradiction. Revenge is sweet in anticipation, but in retrospect sour, as Browning teaches us in his poem called 'After'. Medea's revenge was sour from the first, because it made her kill her children, and sweet, because it satisfied her indignation against her faithless husband, Jason. The conflict of her feelings is vividly depicted in the dramas of Euripides and Seneca bearing her name, and in Morris's *Life and Death of Jason*.

20. *Terentian Gnatho*. Gnatho, the name of a parasite in the *Eunuchus* of Terence, was afterwards used as a common term meaning 'parasite'.

21. *Pandar*, a character in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.

23. *seates*. So Bacon (*Advancement*, II. iii. 5) speaks of 'the cells, domiciles, or offices of the mind of man,' Chaucer (*Knight's Tale*, 1378) places melancholy 'in his selle fantastyk', and Burton specifies the part of the brain 'where they say the memory is seated'. 'States' is the reading of the editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave.

30. *Eutopia* ought to be Utopia, as the name of More's imaginary country is derived from *topos* (a place) and from *ou* (not), not from *eu* (good).

Page 19. 4. *then*, than. If the philosophy of the philosophers is good, while the poetry of the poets does not rise above

mediocrity, then the inferiority of the poets as teachers is not due to the inferiority of the art of poetry, but to the fault of the poets, namely, their inability to satisfy the high ideal of the art of poetry.

5. *obtained*, used intransitively in the sense of 'attain' as in Bacon's *Essays*: 'If a man cannot obtain to that judgement'. The editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave read 'attained'.

7. *Mediocribus*, &c. In these lines (quoted from the *Ars Poetica*, 372-3) Horace expresses his opinion that second-rate poetry is intolerable. (The true reading is *non homines, non di*, &c.)

15. *the lost Child*, the prodigal son. See Luke xv.

16. *Dives* (Lat., rich) does not occur in the Bible. It is the name afterwards given to the rich man whose story is told in the sixteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel.

29. *formall*, circumstantial. *N.E.D.* quotes More: 'that formal story of his casting incense on the altar of an idol'.

Page 20. 6. *Aristotle*. Cf. *Poetics*, ch. ix. 'Thus poetry is more philosophic and of weightier import (*φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον*) than history, for poetry treats more of the general, history of the particular. The general tells us to what kind of man it would occur according to probability or necessity to say or do things of a certain kind: the particular, what Alcibiades did or what happened to him.'

13. *wayes*, weighs, considers.

15. *imposed names*, names given to imaginary persons.

22. *right as hee was*. Cromwell wished to be painted 'right as he was', and therefore said to Lely, 'I desire you would use all your skill to paint my picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all; but remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything, otherwise I will never pay a farthing for it.'

26. *doctrinable*, instructive, suitable as a moral example.

27. *Iustin*, Justinus, author of a universal history.

28. *Dares* was a priest of Hephaestus mentioned in the *Iliad*. He was supposed to be the author of an account of the siege of Troy earlier than the *Iliad*, and a Latin book called *Dareti Phrygii de Excidio Trojae Historia* was supposed to be a translation of his work. Sidney evidently regarded this Latin book as trustworthy history giving a true account of the real

Aeneas. This was a general belief, in Chaucer's time, to Sidney's, and after.

30. *her* is redundant.

Page 21. 2. *Tantalus* was punished in Hell for revealing the secrets of Zeus. He was hungry and thirsty, but could not drink the water or eat the banquet spread before him. The English verb 'tantalize' is derived from his name.

nothing that is not to be shunned. This is not in accordance with the greatest ancient and modern poets, who, following human nature, allow their villains redeeming virtues, and do not even paint good men without a redeeming vice.

7. *shew* does not suit what goes before. The syntax requires 'shews' or 'must shew'.

10. *Quintus Curtius*, a famous Roman historian of uncertain date, wrote a history of Alexander the Great.

Page 22. 16. *Abradates*. Xenophon tells this story, not of Abradates, king of the Susians, but of the Median Araspas.

18. *subiect to the Poet*, because the poet can improve upon the fact related by the historian.

24. *Which*, with reference to which.

27. *not of the Artificer*. See p. 18, l. 30.

28. *to*, as to, as in *All's Well*, iv. iii. 277: 'Once more to this Captain Dumain. You have answered to his reputation with the duke and to his valour: what is his honesty?'

30. *successe*, result.

Page 23. 2. *making Fortune*, &c. This is what is called poetical justice, which is, however, often violated, especially in tragedy. There is, for instance, little or no poetical justice in the deaths of Cordelia, Ophelia, and Desdemona.

14. *Miltiades*, the victor of Marathon, who died in prison 489 B. C.

15. *Phocion*, a virtuous Athenian general and statesman, who opposed the policy of Demosthenes; he was put to death in 319 B. C. Socrates was put to death in 399 B. C.

16. *the cruell Seuerus*. The Roman Emperor, Lucius Septimius Severus, who died at York, A. D. 211, after a reign of eighteen years.

17. *the excellent Seuerus*. Alexander Severus, Roman Emperor, A. D. 222-35, was slain by mutinous soldiers.

Sylla and Marius were notorious for the cruelty of their proscriptions. Sylla, however, though he died in his bed, was popularly supposed to have died of a loathsome disease, which would have been a sufficient satisfaction of poetical justice.

18. *Pompey* was killed, 48 B. c., *Cicero*, 43 B. c.

20. *Cato*, the younger, who in 46 B. c. committed suicide at Utica rather than submit to Caesar.

21. *rebell Caesar*. Caesar is called a rebel because he overthrew the Roman Republic and made himself monarch.

22. *in the highest honor*, because the German and Russian words for Emperor are derived from it.

24. *put downe*, lay aside. In 79 B. c. Sylla surprised Rome by resigning his dictatorship and retiring to private life. Caesar wittily remarked that 'Sylla was ignorant of letters and therefore knew not how to dictate (be dictator)'.

25. *doe well*, by giving up the supreme power in Rome.

26. *Hee meant it not by Poetrie*, he was not referring to poetry as the kind of learning through ignorance of which Sylla did not know how to keep his dictatorship. We should now say 'he did not mean it of poetry', or 'he did not mean poetry'.

28. *Occidendos esse*, that they (tyrants) are to be slain.

30. *Cypselus*, tyrant of Corinth 655-625 B. c.

Periander, son of Cypselus, was tyrant of Corinth 625-585 B. c.

Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum 570-564 B. c. The bull of Phalaris was a brazen bull in which he roasted men alive.

31. *Dionysius*, the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, who died in 367 B. c. after a successful reign of thirty-eight years.

32. *kennell* means a pack of hounds, and so is applied contemptuously to a class of human beings. Compare *Henry VI*, iv. ii. 47, 'a yelping kennel of French curs.'

abominable. The word is so spelt because it was falsely derived from 'ab homine' (away from man, inhuman). In *Love's Labour's Lost* the pedantic Holofernes ridicules the fantastical Armado for preferring 'abominable' to 'abominable'.

Page 24. 2. *setting it forward*, inciting it.

7. *it may bee questionable*, there may be difference of opinion as to whether Poetry or Philosophy teaches better.

12. *Philophilosophos*, a lover of philosophers. Compare p. 1, l. 29.

20. *as Aristotle sayth*. *Eth. Nic.* I. iii. ἐπειδὴ τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν οὐ γνώσις ἀλλὰ πράξις. 'Since action, not knowledge, is the end' (of human activities).

29. *painfulness*. 'Painful' in the sense of painstaking, careful, or industrious is very common in Elizabethan English. Cf. l. 77, and *Second Part of Tritameron*, vol. iii. p. 153 (Grosart): 'After the example of the industrious and painful bee'; also *Dorastus and Fawnia*, vol. iv. p. 270 (Grosart): 'Every day she went forth with her sheepe to the field; keeping them with such care and diligence as all men thought she was verie painful.'

Page 25. 2. *inward light*, conscience or intuitive knowledge of right or wrong.

7. *out of naturall conceit the Philosophers drew it*. They derived their ethical precepts from the natural thoughts of men.

9. *Hoc opus, hic labor est* (*Aeneid*, vi. 128), this is toil, this is labour.

11. *humane*, as opposed to Divine Science or Theology.

18. *margent*, another form of margin, the *t* being added as in 'peasant', 'tyrant', &c.

20. *set* is the reading of the editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave. Olney's edition reads 'sent'.

23. *holdeth children from play*. This passage may have suggested Shakespeare's lines in *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 73:

Which his fair tongue (conceit's expositor)
Delivers in such apt and gracious words,
That aged ears play truant at his tales,
And younger hearings are quite ravished.

25. *pretending no more*, pretending merely to tell a pleasant tale.

26. *as the childe*. Compare Lucretius, iv. 11-25, where philosophy taught in a poem is compared to a draught of wormwood offered to a child in a cup smeared with honey.

Page 26. 5. *they bee brought to schoole againe*, were being treated like schoolboys.

9. *Aristotle*. The passage referred to is no doubt *Poetics*, ch. iv: 'We delight in viewing the most exact delineations of objects which in themselves we see with disgust, for example, figures of the lowest animals or of corpses.'

12. *Amadis de Gaule*, a knight errant, the hero of a famous romance by Vasco de Lobeira (d. 1325).

16. *carrying olde Anchises*. See *Aeneid*, ii. 707-23. This story is alluded to in *Julius Caesar*, i. ii. 112-5:—

I, as Aeneas, our great ancestor,
Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder
The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tiber
Did I the tired Caesar.

21. *Fugientem*, &c. (*Aeneid*, xii. 645): Shall this earth see me flying? Is it such misery to die?

23. *Where*, whereas.

scorne to delight. Contrast the eulogy of Philosophy in *Comus*, 476-9, beginning:

How charming is divine Philosophy!

24. *sauing wrangling*, confining themselves to disputing.

26. *which*, the superiority of poetry as an incentive to action.

27. *Boethius*, the famous philosopher, who flourished in the reign of Theodoric, born between A. D. 470 and 475, executed 524, wrote a treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiae* which was extraordinarily popular in the middle ages, and even later: it was translated by King Alfred, by Chaucer, and by Queen Elizabeth.

30. *a schoole name*, a name taught in schools without any corresponding reality, a nonentity. According to Dio Cassius, xlvii. 49, the last words of Brutus were:

ὦ τλήμων ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε
ὡς ἔργον ἥσκουν, σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.

'Oh wretched virtue, so you were a word and I practised you as a reality, but you were, in truth, a slave to chance.'

indulgere genio, follow their natural inclinations.

34. *the good fellow*, the poet is called a good fellow, because he appears in the light of a pleasant companion and equal, not as an austere superior and teacher.

Page 27. 1. *which seeme.* Compare *Hind and Panther*, 33:

For truth has such a face and such a mien

As to be lov'd needs only to be seen,

and Tennyson's

We needs must love the highest when we see it.

Guinevere, 655.

7. *The one* would naturally be followed by 'the other' so that both 'the one' and 'the other' would be conjointly in apposition to 'two' above. Owing to the long story intervening between 'the one' and 'the other', the syntax is broken, and 'the other', when it comes in l. 27, is the subject of the verb 'is' in a new sentence.

Menenius Agrippa. The story of how he persuaded the Plebeians is told in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*.

12. *farre fet*, far-fetched, out of the way. 'Fet' is the participle of 'fet', an alternative form of the verb 'fetch' (OE. *fetian*).

13. *if they were Platonick.* Plato attached so much importance to Geometry that over the vestibule of his house the words, 'Let no one uninstructed in Geometry enter', are said to have been inscribed.

19. *each others labour*, labour of each of the other parts of the body.

27. *Nathan the Prophet.* See 2 Samuel xii. 1-7.

29. *the tenderest office.* The most delicate duty of friendship is to point out a friend's own shameful conduct. This duty Nathan did for his friend David. For the question in a relative clause, compare p. 32, l. 5.

33. *ungratefullie*, unkindly, cruelly.

applicacion, nominative absolute.

Page 28. 2. *instrumentall cause*, as opposed to God, the First Cause, who, through the instrumentality of this story, caused David to see his guilt.

4. *that heavenly Psalme*, the fifty-first Psalm.

12. *the most excellent work*, the production of virtue.

13. *him*, Poetry personified as an excellent workman.

15. *high authority.* The most convincing argument in praise or blame of anything is to show that it produces good and bad works, for 'the tree is known by his fruit' (Matthew xii. 33).

17. *al together*, all together, all the parts taken collectively as one whole.

24. *Sannassar*, or Sannazzaro (1458-1530), wrote an Italian *Arcadia* on which Sidney's *Arcadia* is modelled. Sidney's *Arcadia* also has prose and verse mingled.

25. *commeth all to one*, makes no difference.

Page 29. 2. *lowest*. So Virgil speaking of pastoral poetry says (*Ecl.* iv. 2):

Non omnes arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae.
(Copses and lowly tamarisks do not delight everybody.)

3. *the poore pype*, the shepherd's oaten pipe, which is the emblem of pastoral poetry.

4, 6. *Melibæus* and *Tityrus* are the interlocutors in the first of Virgil's pastoral poems. *Melibæus* represents the farmers whose lands had been given to the soldiers of Augustus, and *Tityrus* represents Virgil, whose farm had been restored to him by the favour of Augustus. The two lines quoted below are the conclusion of the seventh Eclogue.

15. *Haec memini*, &c., 'these things I remember and that Thyrsis strove in vain and was conquered: from that time Corydon, Corydon is our poet.'

19. *Heraclitus* of Ephesus lived in the end of the sixth century B. C. On account of his pessimism he was called the weeping philosopher. Like Burns and Cowper, he lamented the injustice and cruelty of man's treatment of the lower animals.

21. *compassionate accompanying*. The elegiac poet by his verses gives a kind of musical accompaniment to the complaints of Heraclitus and other pessimists.

22. *paynting out*. To depict as in a painting or vivid description. *N.E.D.* quotes Archbishop Williams on *Laud's Works*: (They) 'have with their deceitful colours painted me out as ugly unto your grace as they have done your grace formidable unto me.'

23. *how weake*. They are weak because they manifest the weakness of man. From another point of view, grief is a very strong passion.

28. *Omne vafer*, &c. Here and below Sidney is quoting from two lines of *Persius* (I. 116-7), which really are as follows:—

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum praecordia ludit.

(His friend smiles as Flaccus touches cunningly on all his faults and gaining an entrance plays round his heart.)

Page 30. 6. *Est Ulubris*, &c. (Horace, *Ep.* I. xi. 30), 'What you seek is here; is at Ulubrae, if calmness of mind is not wanting.' This is the last line of a passage in Horace, showing that happiness is independent of surroundings, that one can live as well in such an insignificant town as Ulubrae as in the most famous cities of the world.

9. *after*. See p. 40.

17. *wanteth a great foile*. The ugliness of evil by contrast sets off the beauty of virtue.

21. *nigardly Demea*, a character in the *Adelphi* of Terence. Davus appears in the *Andria* and *Phormio*, Gnatho and Thraso in the *Eunuchus* of the same author. From 'Thraso' comes the adjective 'thrasonical' which Shakespeare applies to Caesar's brag, 'I came, I saw, I conquered,' in *As You Like It*, v. ii. 34.

23. *who be such*. Comedies give us the distinguishing characteristics of various classes of men so that we can more easily recognise them in real life. Thus from the *Merchant of Venice* we learn that 'sufferance is the badge' of the Jew, and the representation of Pistol enables us to detect the cowardice of a braggart.

29. *Pistrinum*, the mill where lazy or unruly slaves were sent to work as a punishment.

sack of his owne faults. A reference to Aesop's fable of the two wallets, one of which, filled with our faults, is placed at our back, so that though we cannot see it others can. So Persius: 'praecedenti spectatur mantica tergo'—'the wallet on the back preceding us is seen.'

Page 31. 4. *Ulcers that are covered with Tissue*. Compare Horace, *Epistles*, I. xvi. 45: 'Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora' (ugly within, though magnificently apparelled). Tissue is cloth interwoven with gold and silver thread, as in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 204, and Dryden's 'robe of tissue stiff with golden wire'.

6. *affects*, affections, feelings.

10. *Qui sceptrā* (Seneca's *Oedipus*, 705), 'he who fiercely

sways his sceptre with hard rule fears those who fear him;
the fear returns upon its author.'

13. *Alexander Pheraeus*. Plutarch relates that Alexander, Tyrant of Pherae, left the theatre during the representation of the *Troades* 'because he was ashamed that his citizens should see him, who never pitied any man that he murdered, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache'.

24. *cast out*, reject.

29. *Problemes*. This appears to mean themes or questions suggested by nature or possibly by natural history. So a natural problem would mean what is suggested by Nature, problem (*πρόβλημα*) properly meaning that which is put forth, what is proposed. The word is twice used by Sidney in the third Sonnet in *Astrophel and Stella*, 'ennobling new found tropes with problemes old,' and again, 'phrases and problemes from my reach do grow.' And the interpretation here suggested is borne out by the same Sonnet:

in Stellas face I read
What Love and Beauty be, then all my deed
But copying is what in her Nature writes.

Page 32. 1. *barbarousnes*. Sidney feels bound to apologize for his admiration of the famous ballad of Chevy Chase, which would be regarded by his contemporaries as evidence of unrefined taste. It was not recognised in his time that these old ballads were among the best poems produced in England in the interval between Chaucer and Spenser.

4. *Crouder*, fiddler. 'Crowd' is a word of Celtic origin meaning a fiddle.

with no rougher voyce, in language as rude as his voice.

5. *which*, &c. For the question in a relative clause, compare *P.L.* ix. 288:

Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breast,
Adam, misthought of her to thee so dear?

8. *Pindar* (522-442 B.C.), the great Lyric poet of Thebes, therefore called by Gray, who imitates him, the 'Theban Eagle'.

Hungary, which Sidney visited in the summer of 1573.

12. *that kinde of Musicke*. Sidney had probably read in North's *Plutarch*, published in 1579, the account of the Lacedaemonians,

given in the Life of Lycurgus, how 'in their open feasts there were always three dances according to the difference of the three ages. The dance of the old men thus began first for to sing:

We have been young and strong yet valiant heretofore,
Till crooked age did hold us back and bad us do no more.

The young men followed after, singing:

We yet are young, bold, strong and ready to maintain,
That quarrell still against all men that do on earth remain.

The third was of children that came after, and said:

And we do hope as well to pass you all at last,
And that the world shall witness be ere many years be past.'

In the same Life Plutarch describes how the Spartans moved forward to battle measuring their steps to the sounds of Music. Compare *P. L.* i. 550-5.

18. *victories of small moment.* The poems of Pindar, that have survived, celebrate victories in the Olympian and other public games of Greece.

24. *Olympus* should be Olympia. The same mistake is made in the *Faerie Queene*, III. vii. 41, where Spenser refers to

The marble pillar that is pight
Upon the top of Mount Olympus hight,
For the brave youthly champions to assay
With burning chariot wheeles it hight to smite.

fearefull felicities. His other two 'fearefull felicities' were the birth of Alexander and Parmenio's victory over the Dardanians. They were fearful (i. e. alarming) because, when three such pieces of good fortune were announced to him all at once, Philip feared that counterbalancing misfortune would be sure to follow. Compare the story of Polycrates in the third book of Herodotus, and Schiller's well-known poem founded on it. Amasis thought his friend Polycrates would provoke the envy of the gods by his uniform success, and recommended him to propitiate them by throwing away the most valuable of his treasures. When Polycrates threw his signet ring into the sea and it was brought back by a fish, Amasis knew that he was doomed.

26. *that kinde* (of poetry), lyrical poetry.

29. *rests*, remains for consideration.

33. *Turnus*, the Italian prince who opposed Aeneas and was killed by him. The story is told in the last book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Tydeus, one of the seven heroes who fought against Thebes. The story of the war is told in the *Thebaid* of Statius.

Rinaldo, the hero of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, who plays much the same part in that poem as Achilles in the *Iliad*.

Who, the heroic poet.

Page 33. 4. *the saying*. See Plato's *Phaedrus*, iii. 250 D; Cicero, *De Officiis*, I. 5; and p. 27, l. 1.

6. *this man*. Here we have an anacoluthon or change of construction, 'this man' being substituted as nominative for the relative 'who'. There is also confusion in the sense, for 'This man sets her out, &c.' does not follow from the truth of the saying of Plato and Cicero.

19. *ceremonies*, images and other sacred things. For the use of the term to express objects connected with religious worship the *N. E. D.* quotes from the Journal of the Earl of Nottingham (1605): 'Divers ceremonies, as the salera or salt celler borne by one, the taper of wax by another, the chrism by another.' Compare also *Julius Caesar*, I. i. 70.

21. *Dido*, queen of Carthage, whom Aeneas left by the commands of the Gods in order that he might settle with his Trojans in Italy, and so prepare the way for the founding of Rome.

22. *gratefulness*, for the hospitality which Dido showed him when he was wrecked on the shore of Carthage.

23. *craved other of him*, required him to do otherwise.

31. *Melius*, &c., better than Chrysippus and Crantor. Horace (*Epistles*, I. ii. 4) says that Homer is a better moral teacher than the moral philosophers, and Sidney applies the remark to Virgil. Compare p. 61, l. 30. In the line of Horace, 'melius' is an adverb, but the sense here rather requires the adjective 'melior'.

Page 34. 2. *the sum that contains him*, the larger class in which poetry is included. The masculine 'him' is used, as Sidney, in speaking of poetry, has the poet in his mind.

5. *Sith then*. Here begins a long sentence consisting of eight causal causes introduced by 'sith', leading to the conclusion that poetry deserves the laurel crown.

10. *the one of prophecying*, vates, the Roman word for poet, meaning also a prophet.

11. *the other of making*, poet, the Greek name, meaning literally a maker.

and that, and sith, 'that', like the French *que*, being commonly used as a substitute to save the repetition of a conjunction. This arises from the use of 'that' as a conjunctive affix in such combinations as 'if that', 'when that', 'sith that'. We have another instance of this use in lines 25 and 32.

12. *considering* introduces a causal clause subordinate to the preceding causal clause.

18. *the thing described cannot be evil*. Here Sidney confuses the syntax by inserting a principal clause, forgetting that the principal clause giving the conclusion to be derived from all the causal clauses is coming at the end of the long sentence.

30. *of al other learnings*, as compared with all other learnings. Compare *Richard III*, III. i. 68:

I do not like the Tower, of any place.

32. *and that*, and because. See note on l. 11.

Page 35. 6. *Mysomousoi* (haters of the Muses), a word formed on the analogy of *misanthropos* (hater of man).

12. *Those kinde of*. See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 412.

20. *Ouids verse* is 'Et lateat vitium proximitate boni', which Sidney *turns*, i. e. alters, by substituting 'virtus' for 'vitium' and 'mali' for 'boni'. *Art. Am.* ii. 662.

23. *Agrippa*, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (A. D. 1486-1533), had the credit of being a magician. One of his principal works was a treatise on the Vanity of the Sciences.

24. *Erasmus* (A. D. 1467-1536) ironically commended folly in his Latin work entitled *Encomium Moriae*.

27. *another foundation*, because they write ironically.

28. *Mary*, generally spelt 'marry', is an asseveration by the Virgin Mary.

29. *pleasant*, witty.

Page 36, 11. *Scaliger*, Julius Caesar (A. D. 1485-1558). He must be distinguished from his more illustrious son Joseph (A. D. 1540-1609). One of his principal works was a treatise on the Art of Poetry. See General Introduction.

16. *his* is neuter. Sidney does not use the later neuter possessive 'its'.

18. *themselves* ought to be singular as it refers to 'each word'. *without*, unless.

29. *affinitie*, because we more easily remember what gives us pleasure.

Page 37. 5. *roomme*. Compare the description of the room of Anamnestes at the end of the ninth canto of the second book of the *Faerie Queene*.

11. *Calo*. See p. 10, l. 25.

13. *lessons*. Here the editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave add 'as,

Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est.

Dum sibi quisque placet, credula turba sumus.'

The first line being from Horace, *Epist.* I. xviii. 69: the second from Ovid, *Remedium Amoris*, 686.

(Fly from an inquisitive man, for he is also talkative.

While each fears for himself, we are a credulous crowd.)

30. *as Chaucer sayth*, in the *Knight's Tale*, 28:

I have, God woot, a large field to ere,

And wayke ben the oxen in my plough,

where, however, Chaucer is only speaking of the long story he has to tell and not of comedy. 'Ere' (OE. *erian*) means 'to plough', but Sidney or the printer of Olney's edition probably thought it came from the Latin *erro* (to wander) and therefore spelt it 'erre'. Compare p. 52, l. 33.

howe introduces a noun clause in loose opposition to 'field'. The subject, which so easily lent itself to lengthy treatment, was the appeal to history showing how nations were warlike before they began to take delight in comedy.

Page 38. 2. *out shot Robin Hood*. This is obviously a reference to the proverb, 'Many a man speaketh of Robin Hood that never shot in his bow', which is applied to those who profess to know all about matters of which they are ignorant.

7. *Petere principium*, beg the question, assume what is to be proved.

12. *their first assumption*, that there are more fruitful knowledges.

13. *it should followe very unwillingly*, we should be very unwilling to admit that, because something else is better, it follows that what is good is no longer good.

20. *and, though he would*, and (he is the least liar), though he would. He cannot lie even if he wished to do so. See l. 28. Olney's edition has a comma after 'lyer', which is altered into a full stop in other early editions.

25. *Charon*, the boatman who ferries the shades of the dead across the rivers of the lower world.

Page 39. 5. *maketh any circles*. The metaphor is taken from magic. Compare *As You Like It*, II. v. 62: 'A Greek invocation to call fools into a circle.'

8. *for hys entry*. Homer asks the inspiration of the Muse at the beginning of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and his example is followed by Virgil, Milton, and other epic poets.

15. *none so simple would say*, no one would be so simple as to say.

19. *Thebes written in great Letters*. This was an Elizabethan substitute for scene painting.

24. *giue the lye to*, accuse of falsehood.

31. *argueth*, proves, as in *P. L.* iv. 830:

Not to know me argues yourselves unknown.

33. *John a stile* (John at the stile) and *John a noakes* (John at the oak) were names, like John Doe and Richard Roe, used in law-books for imaginary persons, whom we should now distinguish as 'A' or 'B'.

Page 40. 25. *the Phylosophers*, especially Plato in his *Symposium*.

Page 41. 2. *Eikastike*; Plato, *Sophist*. 235, 236, where Plato distinguished between the art of making likenesses *ειδωλοποιία* *εἰκαστική*, and the art of making appearances *ειδωλοποιία* *φανταστική*.

9. *killing Holofernes*, as related in the Book of Judith in the Apocrypha.

18. *a good reason*, according to the principle *corruptio optimi generatio pessimi*.

20. *conceiueth his title*, is entitled to praise or blame.

35. *prooue the commendation*, prove it to be worthy of praise.

Page 42. 2. *in price*, i. e. valued. Lat. *in pretio*.

7. *in our plainest homelines*, in our most simple and primitive times.

10. *a chaine-shot*, two or three shot fastened together with chains so as to cut up rigging. This argument is compared to chain-shot because it attacks learning in more than one point.

13. *a famous Citie*, Athens, captured by the Goths A. D. 267.

14. *bee like*, belike, seemingly. Sidney conjectures that a hangman would naturally be chosen to do such a villainous action. Zonaras, who tells the story, makes no mention of a hangman. For the comparison suggested between killing men and destroying books, compare Milton's *Areopagitica*: 'Unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image, but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God as it were in the eye.'

22. *against all learning*. See Bacon's answer to this objection against learning in the first book of his *Advancement of Learning*, vii. 10-30.

26. *knowledge best*, knowledge is to be gotten best.

29. *Iubeo*, 'I bid him be as much a fool as he will,' 'a fool to his heart's content.' Sidney is quoting from Horace, *Sat.* I. i. 63, but alters the words so as to make them fit into his sentence.

33. *Arthur*, in Layamon's *Brut* or Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. *the quiddity*, &c., philosophical studies. Quiddity (L. Latin *quidditas*) means essence; *Ens* is existence. *Prima materia* is the original substance of which the universe was made.

Page 43. 11. *the Phœnix*, the paragon. 'Phoenix' is used in this sense because the fabulous bird so called was of rare perfection and only one of the species existed at a time.

13. *tooke deade Homer*. Alexander took the *Iliad* with him and put it in the precious casket of Darius.

14. *Callisthenes*, a pupil and relation of Aristotle. He went with Alexander to Asia.

17. *that Homer had been alive.* Alexander wished to have a poet like Homer to celebrate his glory.

20. *misliked Fulvius*, was angry with Fulvius. The story is told in Cicero's *Tusculans*, I. i. 3.

22. *the noble Fulvius*, M. Fulvius Nobilior, consul 189 B. C., conquered the Aetolians. The epithet 'noble' is suggested by the surname 'Nobilior' (more noble), which his grandfather had adopted to indicate that he was more noble than his ancestors.

23. *Cato Vticensis.* See p. 23, l. 20.

25. *the former*, the elder Cato, who, as Censor, distinguished himself by the severity with which he punished those guilty of immorality.

28. *be-like* introduces a conjecture as in p. 42, l. 14.

30. *but hee.* Grammar requires 'but him'.

32. *his unmustered person*, the presence of a man not duly enrolled in the army.

hee misliked not. This does not follow, for he may have misliked both. We are only justified in drawing the negative conclusion that his misliking Fulvius for taking Ennius with him does not prove that he misliked the poetry of Ennius.

33. *Scipio Nasica.* See Livy, xxix. 14. He was judged to be the best citizen in Rome and was therefore sent with the matrons to receive the statue of the Idaean mother at Ostia.

34. *Both the other Scipio Brothers* were first cousins of Scipio Nasica. One was surnamed Africanus for his victory over Hannibal; the other Asiaticus for his victory over Antiochus.

Page 44. 3. *his person.* See p. 43, l. 32.

6. *Plato his name.* Sidney here deals with the famous objections urged against poetry by Plato; see particularly the tenth book of the *Republic*, and compare also the remarks in Book II. 378 to the end.

29. *had their lynes saved.* Plutarch relates that several of the Athenian prisoners in Syracuse 'were saved for the sake of Euripides, whose poetry, it appears, was in request among the Sicilians'. Also a ship pursued by pirates was refused admission to a Syracusan harbour until it was ascertained that some of those on board knew verses of Euripides. The story is told by Browning in his *Balaustion's Adventure*.

32. *Hiero the first*, tyrant of Syracuse 478-467 B. C.

32. *of a Tyrant.* For the use of 'of', compare *P. L.* ix. 712:

I of brute human, ye of human gods.

Page 45. 1. *where*, whereas.

2. *Dionysius* (431-367 B. C.), tyrant of Syracuse, is said to have given Plato to a Spartan ambassador, who sold him as a slave. It does not suit Sidney's argument so well to tell us that the cruel Dionysius was a poet, and just before his death won the first prize for tragedy at Athens.

3. *doe thus*, argue in this way.

4. *should requite.* We should now say 'would requite'. Sidney confesses that he is not seriously attacking philosophy, but merely arguing against philosophy in the same unfair way in which his opponents argue against poetry.

16. *stretched to*, extended to. Poetry is also to be honoured, provided it is not abused.

18. *alldgeth twise two Poets*, makes two quotations from two different poets (not two from each). The poet he quotes by the name of a prophet is Epimenides, of whom he says, 'a prophet of their own said the Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons' (Titus i. 12). The other quotation is, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners' (1 Corinthians xv. 33), attributed to Euripides by Milton in his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, but by others to Menander. In the *Areopagitica*, Milton says that Paul 'thought it no defilement to insert into Holy Scripture the sentences of *three* Greek poets'. The third quotation referred to by Milton is from Aratus. See Acts xvii. 28.

19. *a watch-word vpon Philosophy*, discussed by Bacon in his *Advancement* as 'that admonition of Saint Paul, *that we be not seduced by vain philosophy*'. See Colossians ii. 8. 'Watch-word' here seems to mean 'word of warning'. An instance of this meaning of the word is given in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*.

20. *so dooth Plato.* *Republic*, ii. 377-8.

28. *the very religion*, the true religion.

31. *may reade in Plutarch.* Sidney is referring to three treatises in Plutarch's *Morals*, on the following subjects:

(1) Why the Oracles cease to give Answers.

(2) Of Isis and Osiris, or the ancient Religion and Philosophy of Egypt.

(3) Concerning those whom God is slow to punish.

Page 46. 2. *stood not upon*, was not based upon.

7. *conster*, construe, interpret.

9. *Iulius Scaliger*. See p. 36, l. 11.

Qua autoritate, &c., which authority certain barbarians and those shaggy ones wish to use wrongly for the purpose of driving poets out of the republic.

13. *law*, mercy, indulgence. This meaning comes from the use of 'law' as a sporting term, meaning the start given to a hunted animal.

16. *in his Dialogue called Ion*, 534. In this beautiful Dialogue, generally attributed to Plato though some doubt its authenticity, the divinity of poetry is demonstrated.

33. *Scipios*. See p. 43, ll. 33, 35, and add to the three Scipios there mentioned, Scipio Aemilianus, who was a patron of Lucilius and Terence and quoted Homer as he looked on the flames of Carthage, and when he heard of the death of Tiberius Gracchus.

Laelius, the friend of Scipio Aemilianus. He was supposed to have helped Terence in the composition of his dramas.

Page 47. 1. *Heautontimorumenon* is the accusative of *Heautontimorumenos* (self-tormentor), the name of one of the comedies of Terence. Elizabethan writers sometimes put Greek and Latin nouns in oblique cases after English prepositions, as in *Twelfth Night*, III. ii. 56, 'At the cubiculo.' *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 5, 'The ear of coelo.' Compare in OE., 'To tham cyninge Cyrum.'

3. *Apollo* gave this verdict through the oracle of Delphi. See *P. R.* iv. 275 :

Whom, well-inspired, the oracle pronounced
Wisest of men.

9. *it*, poetry.

10. *them*, poets.

13. *gards*, or guards, are ornamental trimmings, perhaps so called because they protect the edge of the cloth to which they are attached. Plutarch's prose is embellished with many poetical quotations.

Page 48. 5. *Musa*, &c. 'Muse, tell me the causes (that) sweet poesie, embraced in all other places, should only find in

our time a hard welcome in England.' Owing to the long intervening relative clause, the nominative 'poesie' is repeated with the conjunction 'that' before it in l. 21.

quo numine laeso will suit the sense of the sentence best if translated 'what deity being offended', but the words can hardly have that meaning in this Virgilian context.

8. *Adrian*, Emperor of Rome, A. D. 117-38. He is said to be the author of the poem imitated by Pope in his lines beginning :

Vital spark of heavenly flame.

Sophocles, in 440 B. C., was appointed one of the ten generals in the war against Samos.

Germanicus, father of Caligula, and grandfather of Nero, commanded with success against the Germans in the reign of Tiberius. He was the author of several poems.

10. *Robert, king of Sicil.* Robert II, of Anjou (1309-1343), was a patron of the poet Petrarch and wrote poems of his own. He was nominally king of the Two Sicilies, but the island of Sicily would not submit to his rule.

11. *Francis*, King of France (1515-47), was a great patron of poets and artists.

King James of Scotland. James I of Scotland (1394-1437), author of the *King's Quhair*. James VI of Scotland, afterwards James I of England, can hardly be meant, as he was only sixteen years old at this time, and his 'Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie' were not published until 1584.

12. *Bembo*, Cardinal Bembo (1470-1547). In his Italian poems he is an imitator of Petrarch; as a Latin poet, he holds a foremost place among the Latin poets of the Renaissance.

Bibiena, Cardinal Bernard of Bibiena (1470-1520), wrote a comedy called *Calandra*.

13. *Beza* (1519-1605), a French Reformer, wrote Latin poems, as also did Melanchthon (1497-1560).

14. *Fracastorius* of Verona, a philosopher and poet (1483-1553).

Scaliger. See p. 36, l. 11.

15. *Pontanus.* See note on p. 10, l. 26.

Muretus, Marc Antoine Muret (1526-85), was an eminent

French scholar, and wrote critical works and Latin poems in the sixteenth century.

16. *George Buchanan* (1506-82), the most eminent Latin poet whom Scotland has produced and the tutor of James I, wrote a history of Scotland and a large collection of poems in Latin.

17. *Hospitall*, Michel de l'Hôpital (1505-73), Chancellor of France, wrote Latin metrical epistles modelled on those of Horace. Hallam says of him that 'though keeping in general to the level of Horatian satire, he rises at intervals to a higher pitch and wants not the skill of descriptive poetry'. Sidney probably met him when they were both in Paris at the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.

23. *England*. In Olney's edition there is a comma after 'England'. Other early editions have a full stop, which makes the syntax less perplexed.

27. *when the trumpet*, &c. Chaucer flourished in the warlike days of Edward III.

29. *strew the house*. Before carpets came into use rushes were strewn on the floor to prevent noise and keep it clean.

31. *Mountibancks*, It. *montambanco*, from *montare*, to mount, in, on, and *banco*, a bench.

even that, even the fact that poets flourish in England in time of war and have no honour in time of peace. On account of this fact, the best poets, receiving little honour from their countrymen, were resentful and disinclined to write during the peaceful period that preceded 1581, the probable date of the *Apologie for Poetrie*.

34. *Mars* was the lover, and *Vulcan* was the husband of Venus. The story of the net is told in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*.

Page 49. 2. *idle England*, England at peace.

6. *Epaminondas*, the great Theban general, who was slain at the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C. Plutarch says that he gave dignity to the office of Chief Scavenger.

13. *poste ower the banckes of Helicon*, hastily compose a great deal of poetry. Helicon is a Boeotian mountain range sacred to the Muses. Sidney seems to regard it as a stream. The

same mistake is made by Spenser, who, in his *Shepheares' Calender*, speaks of 'Helicon, the learned well'.

16. *Queis*, &c. (Juvenal, xiv. 35), whose reins the Titan (Prometheus) has made of better mud.

23. *in despite of Pallas, invita Minerva*, without the favour of the goddess of knowledge, that is, without any poetical taste or genius.

Page 50. 11. *Orator*, &c., the orator is made, the poet is born.

17. *But these*, &c., but we do not trouble ourselves with these either in the form of rules of art to be obeyed, or models to be imitated.

18. *we*. See note on p. 59, l. 14.

19. *fore-backwardly* is a Teutonic equivalent for preposterously. Sidney means that, instead of exercising their intellect so as to acquire knowledge of the art of poetry, they wrongly thought that they already knew the art, and published their exercises as finished compositions.

25. *Quodlibet*, anything. The poets showed no discrimination in choosing the subjects of their poems.

27. *Quicquid*, &c. Ovid's line (*Tristia*, iv. 10. 26) is :

Et quod tentabam dicere versus erat.

Ovid's verse was performed, but wrongly, because bad verses were written. The editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave read, 'Conabor . . . erit.' Olney's edition has, 'Conabar . . . erit.' Conabor being corrected in an *erratum*.

28. *neuer marshalling it*. Arranging their words in such an irregular manner that the readers cannot follow the metre. Their lines won't 'read themselves' as good verses ought to do.

Page 51. 1. *Troilus and Cresseid*, in circulation about 1382. It is curious that Sidney does not mention the *Canterbury Tales* or any other of Chaucer's works.

5. *wants*. At this time critics, owing to ignorance of the pronunciation of the final 'e', could not scan Chaucer's verses correctly, and wrongly thought that they were very irregular.

7. *Mirror of Magistrates*. A series of historical narratives in verse, the first edition of which was published in 1559. In the second edition, published in 1563, appeared Sackville's famous Induction and Legend of Henry Duke of Buckingham. For

a full account of this important work see Warton's *History of English Poetry*.

8. *Earle of Surries Liricks*, printed first in 1557. He wrote sonnets and introduced the blank verse into English poetry. Sidney might naturally here have mentioned Wyatt, who is generally coupled with Surrey.

many things, accusative, governed by some such verb as 'I find' suggested by the preceding verb 'account'. It is an instance of the figure of speech called zeugma. Compare Pope's

See Pan with flocks, with fruits Pomona crowned.

10. *The Sheapheards Kalender*, published in 1579. This date is important in fixing the date of Sidney's *Apologie*. The poem was dedicated to Sidney.

13. *aloue* (*allaudare*, praise), approve.

20. *beget another*, as happens when the 'rime is rudder to the verse' so that the following verse is determined not by any constructive design of the poet, but by the necessity of making it rime with what went before.

24. *Our Tragedies and Comedies*. Here begins a sentence which is left unfinished, so that we cannot tell whether 'Tragedies and Comedies' were intended to be nominatives absolute, or nominatives to some verb that was to have come later on and is omitted. Perhaps 'our Tragedies and Comedies observing rules, &c.' might be taken as a nominative absolute belonging to the preceding relative clause, in which case the full stop after 'reason' must be changed into a comma.

26. *Gorboduck*, or *Ferrex and Porrex*, a drama in the style of Seneca, composed by Sackville and Norton and first acted at Christmas, 1561. Gorboduc was a British king and Ferrex and Porrex were his two sons.

Page 52. 2. *the very end of Poesie*, delightful teaching. See p. 10, l. 4.

it, a redundant nominative, as the nominative of the clause is the relative pronoun 'which' in line 27 on the preceding page.

5. *in place and time*. The only Unity exalted into a canon by Aristotle is the Unity of action; with regard to time all he says is (*Poetics*, c. v), 'Tragedy endeavours to be contained if

possible within one revolution of the sun or to exceed but little.' Of the unity of place he says nothing. The unities of time and place were first formulated by Ludovico Castelvetro (1505-71) in his Commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*, published in 1570. This appears to be the first reference to them in our literature. Sidney was evidently ignorant that they emanated not from Aristotle but from Castelvetro. Ben Jonson was the first to popularize them.

12. *the rest*, other English dramas.

16. *conceined*, understood.

Now, at one time, as opposed to 'by and by' in the beginning of the next sentence.

24. *represented with foure swords*. Compare the Chorus at the beginning of the fourth Act of *Henry V*:

And so our scene must to the battle fly,
Where (O, for pity!) we shall much disgrace
With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
Right ill disposed in brawl ridiculous,
The name of Agincourt.

28. *trauerces*, difficulties, crosses.

29. *groweth a man*. Thus, in the *Winter's Tale*, Perdita is born in the second Act and is grown up to womanhood in the fourth Act.

33. *in* governs 'which' in l. 30. Even ordinary Italian playwrights, Sidney says, will not go wrong in this matter, i.e. will not violate the unity of Time.

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Page 62. 4. *many misteries.* So Bacon (*Advancement*, II. iv. 4) thinks that 'the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, and philosophy are involved in fables or parables. Of this in divine poesy we see the use is authorized. In heathen poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity'. He gives many instances of such exposition.

6. *Landin*, i. e. Cristoforo Landino, who wrote, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, a commentary on Dante, and philosophical dialogues, which, taking their title from where they were supposed to take place, at Camaldoli, were called *Disputationes Camaldulenses*.

9. *they will make you immortall.* This is a poetical commonplace which will be found in many of Shakespeare's sonnets, e.g. in the nineteenth:—

Yet do thy worst, old Time: despite thy wrong,
My love shall in my verse ever live young.

15. *Superlatives*, such as were liberally employed in prefaces in honour of a patron.

19. *Anchises*, who is found by his son Aeneas in the Elysian fields. See the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.

20. *dull making*, deafening.

Cataphract is here a mistake for 'cataract'. A cataphract is properly a man and a horse in full armour. See *Samson Agonistes*, 1619. The editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave read 'cataract'.

21. *Plannet-like Musick.* Poetry cannot be appreciated by base minds and is therefore compared to the music of the spheres which cannot be heard by us 'whilst this muddy vesture of decay doth grossly close it in'. See the lines quoted from the *Merchant of Venice*, in the note on p. 13, l. 3.

25. *Mome*, fault-finder, from 'Momus', the name of the God of Mockery. Greek *μῆμος*, ridicule or mockery. Sidney plays on the double meaning of the word, which also means a dolt in *Comedy of Errors*, III. i. 32:

Mome, malt-horse, capon, coxcomb, idiot, patch.

possible within one revolution of the sun or to exceed but little.' Of the unity of place he says nothing. The unities of time and place were first formulated by Ludovico Castelvetro (1505-71) in his Commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*, published in 1570. This appears to be the first reference to them in our literature. Sidney was evidently ignorant that they emanated not from Aristotle but from Castelvetro. Ben Jonson was the first to popularize them.

12. *the rest*, other English dramas.

16. *conceined*, understood.

Now, at one time, as opposed to 'by and by' in the beginning of the next sentence.

24. *represented with foure swords*. Compare the Chorus at the beginning of the fourth Act of *Henry V*:

And so our scene must to the battle fly,
Where (O, for pity!) we shall much disgrace
With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
Right ill disposed in brawl ridiculous,
The name of Agincourt.

28. *trawerces*, difficulties, crosses.

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32. *Clauserus*. Conrad Clauser translated into Latin (about 1543) the Greek work of Cornutus on the Nature of the Gods. Cornutus, who was a Stoic, was the tutor of the poets Persius

and Lucan. The passage referred to by Sidney, as a former editor of this treatise has pointed out, is in the preface to his translation.

Page 62. 4. many misteries. So Bacon (*Advancement*, II. iv. 4) thinks that 'the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, and philosophy are involved in fables or parables. Of this in divine poesy we see the use is authorized. In heathen poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out sometimes with great felicity'. He gives many instances of such exposition.

6. Landin, i. e. Cristoforo Landino, who wrote, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, a commentary on Dante, and philosophical dialogues, which, taking their title from where they were supposed to take place, at Camaldoli, were called *Disputationes Camaldulenses*.

9. they will make you immortall. This is a poetical commonplace which will be found in many of Shakespeare's sonnets, e.g. in the nineteenth :—

Yet do thy worst, old Time : despite thy wrong,
My love shall in my verse ever live young.

15. Superlatives, such as were liberally employed in prefaces in honour of a patron.

19. Anchises, who is found by his son Aeneas in the Elysian fields. See the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.

20. dull making, deafening.

Cataphract is here a mistake for 'cataract'. A cataphract is properly a man and a horse in full armour. See *Samson Agonistes*, 1619. The editions of Ponsonby and Waldegrave read 'cataract'.

21. Plannet-like Musick. Poetry cannot be appreciated by base minds and is therefore compared to the music of the spheres which cannot be heard by us 'whilst this muddy vesture of decay doth grossly close it in'. See the lines quoted from the *Merchant of Venice*, in the note on p. 13, l. 3.

25. Mome, fault-finder, from 'Momus', the name of the God of Mockery. Greek *μῶμος*, ridicule or mockery. Sidney plays on the double meaning of the word, which also means a dolt in *Comedy of Errors*, III. i. 32 :

Mome, malt-horse, capon, coxcomb, idiot, patch.

26. *Midas*, who was given the ears of an ass because he judged Pan's music to be superior to that of Apollo.

27. *Bubonax* is a mistake for Bupalus, who was so bitterly satirized by the Iambic poet, Hipponax, that he is said to have hanged himself.

29. *in Ireland*. Rats were said to be rimed to death in Ireland. Hence Rosalind says, 'I was never so be-rimed since Pythagoras' time, that I was an Irish rat,' on which passage Steevens quotes from Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, *Apologetic Dialogue*, 262-3:

Rime them to death as they do Irish rats
In drumming tones.

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